



Nation stares into its divided soul as killer 'rejoices' but government pledges that the Middle East peace process will continue

Rabin killing throws Israel into turmoil

PATRICK COCKBURN
Jerusalem

Israel buries Yitzhak Rabin today, briefly united by the shock of his death but horrified by the depth of the divisions within Israeli society revealed by his assassination.

As Mr Rabin's coffin lay outside the Israeli parliament yesterday, tens of thousands of Israelis filed past to pay their last respects. Utterly unrepentant, Yigal Amir, his 27-year-old assassin, said he had also intended to kill Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister, who is now the acting prime minister. He said he "received instructions from God to kill Prime Minister Rabin."

Police believe the assassination was probably the work of Amir acting alone, but are unravelling his contacts among the extreme groups of the Israeli religious right. Moshe Shahal, the Police Minister, said the assassin made two previous attempts to get close enough to the Prime Minister to kill him before he finally succeeded at the end of the peace rally in Tel Aviv on Saturday night.

Quite apart from political shock-waves of Mr Rabin's death - throwing the future of the peace process into confusion - Israelis must now stare into a psychological and spiritual abyss that they had long preferred to ignore. Mr Rabin's death was the first ever murder of an Israeli leader by an Israeli. Whether or not Amir acted alone, Israel can no longer disregard the fact that it has an implacable, fundamentalist and anti-democratic force in its midst, which is not foreign, but home-grown.

President Bill Clinton and John Major will be joint main speakers at the state funeral today, including President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, making his first visit to Israel. King Hussein of Jordan, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, has decided not to come on the

grounds that his presence might be considered provocative.

Israelis are astonished that the assassin was able to get so close to Mr Rabin despite the presence of 700 security men. There is sure to be a serious row over the failure of security. The police say that Mr Rabin refused to wear a bullet proof vest which might have saved him.

The reasons for the failure of security appear to be that the security men were trained to expect and prevent attacks by Palestinians. Despite repeated threats against Mr Rabin and his

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Yitzhak Rabin has buried forever the possibility of an Israeli state maintained only by military might and sustained by a perversion of the Zionist ideal. Leading article, page 18

The Israeli dream that died with Rabin
Patrick Cockburn, page 19

ministers, they did not expect him to die at the hand of a Jew. Israeli security may also have been hampered by over-confidence in their own ability and efficiency which is often lauded by the Israeli press.

Mr Peres and his ministers were quick to assert that the death of Mr Rabin will make no difference to Israeli withdrawal from the towns of the West Bank and the next stage of Palestinian self-rule. Mr Peres could capitalise on the shock of Mr Rabin's death by holding a snap election to take advantage of the confusion in Likud, the main right wing party which is trying desperately to distance itself from its former friends on the religious and nationalist right. A quick election might, however, prove to be a dangerous tactic if the backlash

against the right does not last. As a life-long hardliner, Mr Rabin had the credentials to push the peace process, which Mr Peres, long regarded as a moderate, arguably does not.

The 73-year-old Mr Rabin spent 27 years in the Israeli army and was chief-of-staff during Israel's biggest military victory in the Six Day war in 1967. His political career, which led to him becoming prime minister twice, was rooted in his status as Israel's leading military hero.

Many of those waiting to file past his coffin yesterday were religious Jews wearing skullcaps wanting to demonstrate their disapproval of the killing. "My reaction was total embarrassment because I am a religious Jew and I wear a kippa (skullcap) and now I know when I walk down the street people are going to look at me like I am a murderer," said Alon Cohen, originally from the United States.

Amir, 27, the assassin, was a law student at Bar-Ilan, a religious university outside Tel Aviv. The son of immigrants from Yemen he had been brought up attending religious schools and had been involved in agitation in favour of the West Bank settlers. He has made no attempt to deny the charge and signed a five-page confession. When told Mr Rabin had died, he said he was happy.

An astonishing aspect of the assassination is that it had been often predicted this year without anybody believing that it could really happen. Settlers near Hebron and other centres of extremism had made clear that they saw Mr Rabin's government as giving up the land which God had given to Israel. They had already proved their potential for violence when Baruch Goldstein killed 29 Palestinians as they worshipped in a mosque last year.

Amir told police interrogators that he believed that it was permissible "to kill anybody who was giving up the land of Israel".



Family support: Leah Rabin, with her son Yuval, mourns beside her husband's coffin which lay in state yesterday outside the Knesset in Jerusalem. Tens of thousands of Israelis filed past to pay their last respects. Photograph: Yannis Beltraks/Reuters

I just want to cry for my country. I fear for the very fabric of our society

DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem

I was supposed to be interviewing Yitzhak Rabin this morning. At 11.45, to discuss Israel's relations with Diaspora Jewry - and specifically the storm he aroused in the United States a few weeks ago by telling American Jews to butt out of Israel's peace policies and confine themselves to sending money to finance Jewish immigration and absorption.

The row was typical of the man, sparked by his penchant for plain talking, his utter disinclination for hypocritical diplomatic niceties. And those of us who supported Rabin - probably a slight majority of the Israeli public - loved him for that bluntness, that addiction to telling it straight.

But we admired and respected him for much more than that. And today, as we bury our most courageous prime minister, we wonder where our country can go now without him. For Yitzhak Rabin represented the heart of Israel. In his personality and his career were contained both the very essence of our past and all our aspirations for a more normal future. And now, we shiver with uncertainty, numbed by the vacuum at our core.

For three-and-a-half years, after he narrowly won election in June 1991, we watched Rabin gradually come to acknowledge that he really had the chance to secure Israel's future by making peace with the Palestinians and the wider Arab world. When he hesitated, at the White House in September 1993, before accepting Yasser Arafat's outstretched hand, we understood that pause. We hesitated with him. He joked that he had butterflies in his stomach. We shared them. Was this a terrible mistake, trying to build a partnership with a man who for so long had been dedicated to our elimination?

The two years since have demonstrated that, no, this is not a mistake. Only Rabin, surely, could have navigated us along this route. Rabin read the writing on the wall, but refused to be cowed by it. Yes, he said, just days ago, he knew that the screams of "murderer" and "traitor" directed at him by right-wing demonstrators were creating a climate ripe for political assassination. But he insisted, as ever, on leading from the front, insisted that he felt secure in the midst of his people.

For all the pain and the grief, we would feel different if he had been gunned down by a Palestinian. That one of our own people should have done this, should have calmly squeezed the trigger, and now complacently eschews remorse... I am still shaking as I write these lines. Everybody I know here has been crying. Most of us have been up all night, unable to tear ourselves away from the television screens and the radio. I moved here from England 12 years ago, and now I wonder if the country I came to is still here. I wonder how I can contemplate ever sending my two young sons to fight in the Israeli army for a people that could produce this murderer.

While the analysts speculate about the impact on the peace process and the likely domestic political fallout, I just want to cry for my country. Having lost Rabin, and lost him like this, I fear for the very fabric of our society. If he can be killed, then everything about Israel is vulnerable. All bets are off. Will we disintegrate into anarchy? Can our democracy survive? One thing is certain. We have proved to be our own worst enemies. For 48 years, we have resisted the hostility of our neighbours. Now we ourselves have stopped our own heart from beating.

David Horowitz is managing editor of the Jerusalem Report news magazine.

Unionists may vote with Labour on Nolan

DONALD MACINTYRE
Political Editor

Ministers and leading Tories fighting against having to reveal the outside income they earn as MPs were faced with a potential setback last night when David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists, said he was in favour of disclosure.

With a dozen or more Tory MPs considering the possibility of supporting disclosure or abstaining in tonight's knife-edge Commons vote on the Nolan recommendations, Mr Trimble's remarks were the first indication that Unionists could support Labour's bid to force through disclosure.

In an interview with GMTV, the Ulster Unionist leader was asked if he would "back John Major" by supporting the majority report of the special Select Committee which came down against disclosure and instead supported a ban on "advocacy" by MPs in the Commons in support of their outside commercial interests.

Mr Trimble replied: "I think that's the wrong way to look at it. It's not a question of backing someone... This is a matter for the House of Commons. It's a free vote. John Major may have an opinion on it but he's just one out of 652 on an issue like this."

Mr Trimble said he had not

yet discussed the issue with his parliamentary colleagues. But he added: "My own preference

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Sleeze or integrity?
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"If MPs want to continue under suspicion of sleaze then they should say No to Nolan. If they want to mend public confidence, they should vote today to flip their pocket-books open." Leading article, page 18

is for disclosure. I do think that it's better for the public to know, particularly on matters

like this which affect public confidence in institutions."

But although Mr Trimble's intervention was a boost for Labour's efforts to swing Tory dissenters behind them, the Opposition is not expecting anything like a full turnout of Ulster Unionist MPs and they will not be whipped in tonight's vote. They are hoping for the support of the three Democratic Unionist Party MPs and for two Social and Democratic Labour Party MPs to turn up for tonight's vote.

John Major, who made it clear last week that he would be supporting the Select Committee report, will not now be voting because he will be at the

funeral of Yitzhak Rabin, the assassinated Israeli Prime Minister. But the political impact of this is likely to be cancelled out by Tony Blair, who is also attending the funeral and is not expected to be back in London in time to vote.

One factor which remains in doubt is whether, if the Labour amendment seeking immediate earnings disclosure is defeated, the Opposition will fall in behind an alternative proposal put by Sir Teddy Taylor, and two other Tory MPs, for disclosure to take place after the next general election.

Meanwhile, Barry Porter, Tory MP for Wirral, last night denied any impropriety in his

willingness 14 months ago to enter into an arrangement with a business which approached him to arrange ministerial meetings concerning the Czech Republic.

Mr Porter was approached with the offer by a Sunday Times reporter, posing as a businessman.

"At that time this was not unusual and if it had taken place I would have declared it in the Members' Register of Interests," he said.

The approach was revived by the reporter last week and a meeting was arranged for next Tuesday, the day after the vote, at which approaches to ministers would be discussed.

IN BRIEF

Legalise brothels - vice squads
A third of police vice squads want brothels to be legalised, because they believe they are fighting a losing battle against prostitution, a new study reveals. Almost all those questioned believe the current anti-prostitution laws are outdated, cumbersome and difficult to implement, and there is wide frustration over soft penalties against kerb-crawlers. Page 11

Bookmakers' bad luck
Bookmakers say they will be forced out of business by the National Lottery unless the Government takes urgent action, including a reduction in betting tax by 2 per cent and allowing them to bet on lottery numbers and install fruit machines. Page 12

Tamils flee
More than 120,000 Tamil men, women and children are queuing on the Jaffna peninsula to be evacuated by Tiger rebels in the face of an invasion by Sri Lankan armed forces intent on taking Jaffna. Page 12

Railtrack property bid
Railtrack is lobbying for permission to hang on to property development profits after it is privatised next year to make its flotation more attractive to investors. Page 20

'Zero hours' wardens
Hostel wardens who often look after criminals have been offered Burger King-style "zero hours contracts" by the probation service. Page 18

COMMENT

Niall Ferguson: There's too much fuss about Tory sleaze. Page 19

Ruth Dudley Edwards' Diary: News Analysis: Nicholas Timmins and Chris Blackhurst on the lobbyists who are getting into bed with Labour. Page 17

Another View: Claire Rayner on Julia Somerville's photographs. Page 18

Miles Kingston: Sport defies the US game plan. Page 19

Weather: Mist and patchy fog over England and Wales will clear to leave a fine day. But cloud and rain will spread east across Scotland and Northern Ireland. Section Two, page 21

'Barclays set our history syllabus back 50 years'

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RABIN ASSASSINATION

World leaders vow to keep peace on track

RUPERT CORNWELL
Washington
and DONALD MACINTYRE

President Bill Clinton and the Prime Minister, John Major, were among world leaders heading to Israel last night to attend Yitzhak Rabin's funeral, with Mr Clinton underlining his determination that the loss of "a martyr for his nation's peace" would not deflect the US from its goal of securing a lasting peace in the Middle East.

As the President left, administration officials emphasised that US policy would not change, even though—as former president Jimmy Carter, the architect of the 1978 Camp David accord, put it—the world might have to be "patient" as Israel adjusted to the horror of a shattering act of terrorism mounted not by Arabs, but from within.

The Prime Minister, who will be accompanied by Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, said in terms that were reflected across the political spectrum in Westminster that the "best memorial" for Rabin would be achievement of the Middle East peace settlement for which he had given his life. Mr Major expressed his great shock and sorrow at Rabin's death, describing him as "a personal friend whom I much admired".

The Queen, who is in New Zealand for the Commonwealth conference and was said

DIPLOMACY

to be very shocked by news of the assassination, sent a message of condolence to Israel's President Ezer Weizman, and will be represented by the Prince of Wales at the funeral. Both the Opposition leader, Tony Blair, and Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, will also attend.

Mr Rifkind, who is going ahead with a visit to the Middle East which was to have included a meeting with Rabin on Wednesday, told BBC Radio: "I believe the peace process itself is irreversible and will go forward." He added: "That is likely to be even more the view of the Israeli government and of the Israeli public. I'm sure there will be a great coming together of people in Israel. But it's difficult to exaggerate the significance of the loss of Mr Rabin as an individual, because he commanded such widespread respect and widespread authority."

Mr Blair said he believed the peace process was "unstoppable". Mr Ashdown declared: "It is vital that everyone now acts to keep the peace process on track."

For US policymakers who had worked with Rabin on and off for almost 30 years, the impact was deeply personal as well as political. "I admired him and I loved him very much," Mr Clinton said shortly after the Is-

raeli Prime Minister's death had been confirmed, lamenting the loss of "one of the world's greatest men". Peace must be, the President declared, "and peace will be Mr Rabin's lasting legacy".

The Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, who in less than three years has paid 13 visits to the Middle East in search of the peace agreement he seeks as the seal on his long diplomatic career, was said by aides to be "broken" by the news.

Demonstrating the esteem in which Rabin was held, Mr Clinton will be accompanied by his wife, Hillary, former presidents Carter and George Bush, and an official delegation including Mr Christopher, Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader and Newt Gingrich, the House Speaker, as well as leaders of the Democratic minority in Congress.

Behind its insistence, however, that the peace process was irreversible and would continue, the White House was urgently trying to gauge the damage done. Some drew heart that Rabin's successor—for the time being at least—is his Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres. Unspoken too was relief that Arab extremists were not responsible.

But, they admit, Mr Peres lacks the credentials of Rabin, and cannot provide the cover extended by Rabin's military background and his well-known initial scepticism about peace.

British Jews united in anger and sorrow

JOJO MOYES

Outside the Israeli embassy in Kensington the message attached to a simple wreath of white lilies displayed the grief of Britain's Jewish community. "I would have taken his place in a second if I could," it read. "No doubt, out of this numberless depth of Jewish history, will emerge Israel's finest hour."

Religious leaders and Israel's ambassador to London insisted the Middle East peace process would not be derailed by the killing. The Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks, said: "Peace is still a long way away but the dedication and commitment to it on the part of the Jewish community is undiminished. The process will go on."

"Yitzhak Rabin will, in our Jewish phrase, be one whose memory will stand as a blessing

BRITISH REACTION

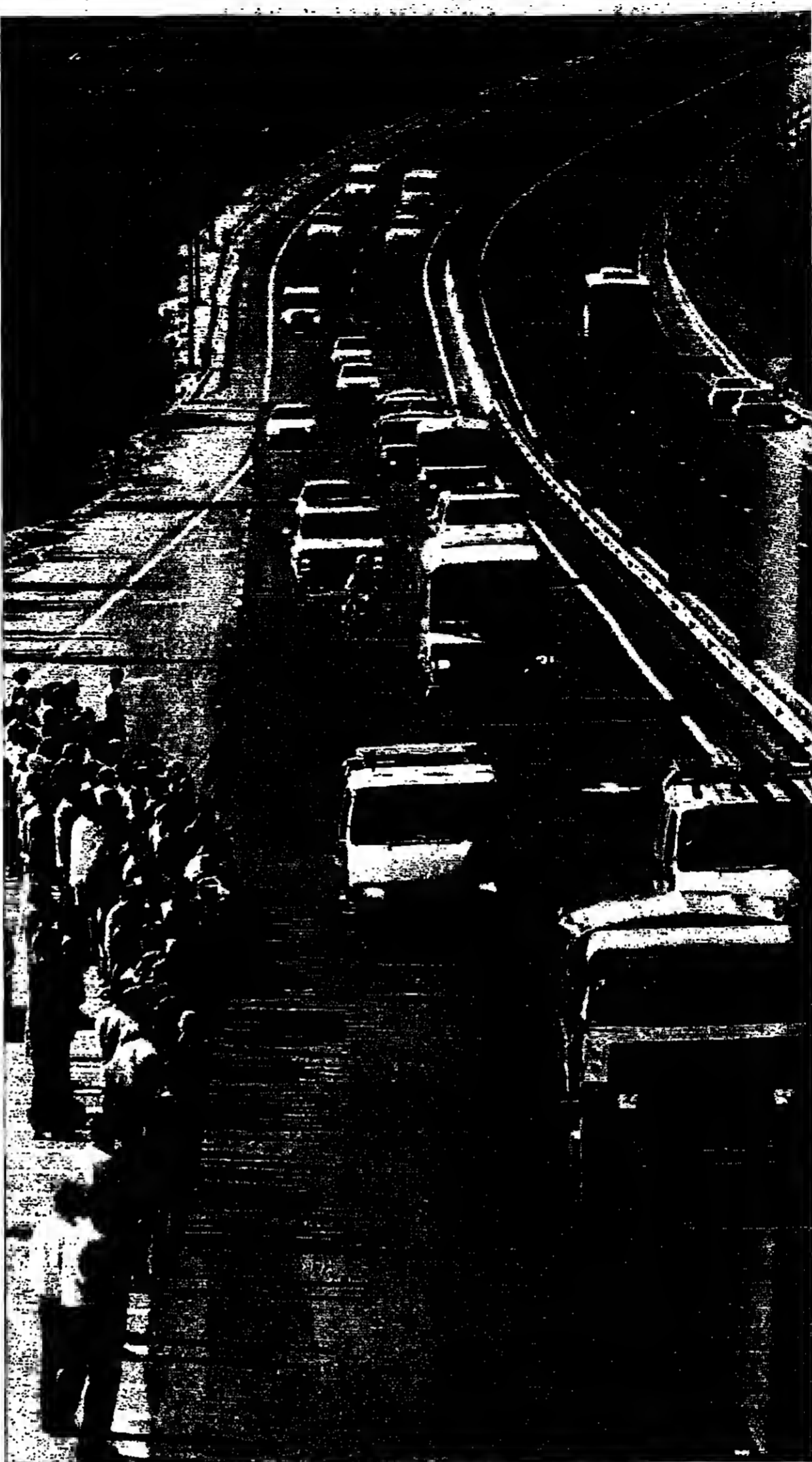
and the cause for which he dedicated his life will continue and that is our consolation."

Dr Sacks, speaking on BBC Radio, said the assassination was the work of an "unbalanced" assassin and had no religious justification. He said a debate inside Israel in the aftermath of Rabin's murder was imperative. "We must talk this out. We cannot fight it out," Dr Sacks added. "He was a courageous man, bold in war, bold in peace and we will miss him."

According to police stationed outside the embassy, where scaffolding and tarpaulin acted as a reminder of last year's bombing, more than 70 people had come throughout the day to pay their respects. Today at noon the embassy will open a book of condolence.

The president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Eluned Tabachnik QC, yesterday released a statement on behalf of the Board: "Yitzhak Rabin will rank as one of the great prime ministers of Israel and one of the world's great statesmen. He risked his life in the defence of Israel as a soldier. He has now given his life in the cause of peace as a statesman. He was a man of courage, vision, and determination. His death is an enormous loss to Israel, to world Jewry and to the international community."

This was reiterated by the chairman of Labour Friends of Israel, Norman Flegg MP. He sent a letter to the Israeli ambassador in London expressing his sadness and anger at the killing, and saying: "It will be to his lasting memory that the peace process should succeed."



Black day: Israelis waving a black flag as the hearse escorting Yitzhak Rabin's body passes near the town of Mevaseret on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway yesterday

World leaders murdered since 1948

1993 - Ranasinghe Premadasa, president of Sri Lanka, shot by suicide bomber in Colombo.
1989 - Melchior Ndadaye, first democratically elected president of Burundi, killed by Tutsi soldiers in attempted coup.
1989 - Rene Monod, president of Lebanon, killed by bomb.
1989 - President Ahmed Abdallah of Comoros Islands killed in coup.
1986 - Olo Palme, Swedish prime minister, shot by unknown gunman in the streets of Stockholm.
1984 - Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India, shot by bodyguards.
1983 - Maurice Bishop, deposed prime minister of Grenada, shot by soldiers.
1982 - Bashir Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon, killed by bomb.
1981 - President Mohammed Ali Raji and Premier Jomartyn Jaat Bishayev of Iran, killed by a bomb.
1980 - President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, shot by commandos in Cairo.
1979 - Zia ur Rahman of Bangladesh, killed by army dissidents.
1980 - William R Tolbert, president of Liberia, slain in coup.
1979 - Park Chung Hee, president of South Korea, killed by head of Korean CIA.
1978 - Nur Muhammad Taraki, president of Afghanistan, killed in Soviet-backed coup.
1977 - Marien Ngouabi, president of Congo, shot in Brazzaville.
1976 - General Murtala Muhammed, Nigerian head of state, slain in coup.
1975 - Richard Ratsimandranga, president of Madagascar, killed by gunfire.
1974 - King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, shot by nephew in royal palace.
1973 - Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, president of Bangladesh, slain in coup.
1973 - Salvador Allende, Chilean president, dies in coup.
1971 - Wasfi Tal, prime minister of Jordan, slain by Palestinian guerrillas in Cairo.
1966 - Hendrik F Verwoerd, prime minister of South Africa, stabbed to death in parliament.
1963 - Ngo Dinh Diem, president of South Vietnam, killed in military coup.
1961 - John F Kennedy, president of the United States, shot in Dallas.
1961 - Patrice Lumumba, former premier of the Congo, killed by Belgian soldiers.
1959 - Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, Dominican Republic dictator.
1959 - Solomon Bandaranaike, prime minister of Ceylon, killed by Buddhist monk.
1957 - Carlos Castillo Armas, president of Guatemala, shot by one of his guards.
1956 - Anastasio Somoza, president of Nicaragua.
1954 - Abdullah I bin Hussein, king of Jordan, assassinated.
1954 - first prime minister of Pakistan, shot by an Afghan fanatic.
1948 - Mohandas K Gandhi, Indian independence leader, killed by Hindu fanatic.

Arabs who want peace fear genie as evil as the Islamist extremists

Beirut — Why the sense of shock? What's the surprise? Why the double standards about the murderer? When will the world admit that Israel has an Israeli 'terrorist' problem?

I must have been asked these questions a dozen times in the hours that followed Yitzhak Rabin's assassination. And, listening to the reports coming in from Israel, it was not always easy to reply. If an Arab had killed the Israeli Prime Minister, the Arab would have been a "terrorist". But within hours, Yigal Amir, a reserve soldier in the supposedly "elite" Golan brigade, was being described by journalists as a "lone gunman", an "extremist", a "shooter" — whatever that means — and a possible member of the "Jewish underground" (sic).

Yet again, an Israeli killer, as opposed to an Arab killer, escaped the terrorist label — because he was an Israeli. It was not just a question of the weary double standards of reporting the Middle East conflict — no journalist, after all, dared to call Baruch Goldstein a "terrorist" after he slaughtered 29 Palestinian worshippers in a Hebron mosque — but the political effect of this hypocrisy on Arab leaders.

If Israel waits peace so much, the Arabs have so often asked, why doesn't Israel deal as harshly with its own "terrorists" as it does with the Arab variety? Or, as a Palestinian put it yesterday, not far from the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps of Beirut, "Jewish settlers have threatened Rabin's life a thousand times — but when one of them carries out the promise, the world is expected to be shocked. These guys are terrorists too — but you never say

Robert Fisk, Middle East Correspondent, wonders when the world will admit that Israel has its own 'terrorist' problem



Anti-Israel demonstrators in Sidon, south Lebanon, gloating over Yitzhak Rabin's death

so." Put at its simplest, Rabin's murder touches the fear of every Arab tempted to make peace with Israel: that there is at the heart of the Israeli state, something very dangerous — as frightening as the Islamist enemy which threatens so many Arab leaders, a monster which neither the Israelis nor the Americans have the will or the courage to acknowledge. For Arabs suspect that Goldstein and Yigal Amir and earlier Israeli killers are not isolated, lonely, demented gunmen, but the product of a fundamentalist Israeli society that lives on Arab land and which has frequently announced that it will fight its own government to keep it.

The settlements, after all, lie at the very centre of the PLO-Israeli "peace". If they stay, there will almost certainly be no peace. If the Israeli government stands up to them — and this means more than

promising to infiltrate Jewish "extremist" movements — then something like peace might just emerge. But Rabin merely threatened their future, and paid for it with his life. He did not actually confront the menace which the settlers represented, and we journalists have done our bit to neutralise the moral issues. CNN has now referred to the settlers who stole Arab land and the Palestinians who lost it as holding "conflicting heritage claims"; it would be difficult to find a more deceitful way of reporting the issue.

So was it surprising that after the Hebron killings, it was the Palestinians of the city — the victims of the Israeli settler, Dr Goldstein — who were placed under curfew by the Israeli army? And after Rabin's assassination, it is now the West Bank and the Gaza Strip which have been closed off by the Israeli army — not the Jewish set-

tlements which were so close to Mr Amir's heart. Psychologically, it seems to Arabs, they are being blamed for a murder that has its roots in uncontrolled Zionism. And who could blame them for thinking this when the BBC World Service noted that the Arab states opposed to the peace process had failed to condemn Rabin's murder — without mentioning that the killer was an Israeli.

The immature delight expressed by Iran and others at Rabin's death should not conceal the real problems of Israel's internal divisions, which President Mubarak, for one, has privately raised with the Americans on several occasions.

The burning tyres around the Beirut refugee camps, the rocket-propelled grenades fired into the sky over the Sidon camps by those Palestinians opposed to the PLO-Israeli peace, the car-loads of Hizbollah members driving with flags through Beirut; all these reflect despair, distrust and contempt in about equal measure. As the man who launched the bombardment of southern Lebanon in 1993, killing 120 civilians and putting 300,000 refugees on the road in retaliation for the killing of seven Israeli occupation soldiers, Yitzhak Rabin was scarcely going to be regarded here as the man of peace whom CNN spent so much time lauding yesterday.

But there were other lessons to be learned in the Arab world. "What Rabin's murder means is that Israel is just another Middle Eastern country, just like the Arabs — just like us," a Lebanese figure close to the pro-Iranian Hizbollah said here yesterday. "An Egyptian soldier killed President Sadat because he didn't like the peace with Is-

rael. Now an Israeli [reserve] soldier kills Rabin because he doesn't like peace with the Arabs. Israel has become a Middle Eastern society. Their leaders are in future going to be as frightened for their lives as our leaders. They too have a conflict between their secularists and their fundamentalists — just like the Arab societies. Only they won't admit it."

The same man recalled that last week, Sayed Hassan Nasrallah, the Hizbollah leader, the widow of the assassinated Islamic leader Fathi Shkaki, and Shkaki's successor, Ramadan Shallah, all made personal threats against Rabin. "Now just imagine that an Arab had killed Arafat. We would all believe that Israel was behind Arafat's killing. Yet the moment we heard that Rabin had been killed by a Jew, none of us thought that the Jew was working for Islamic Jihad. We know very well how violent the settler society is in Israel. We didn't think for a moment that the Jew had done it on our behalf."

Notwithstanding the public sorrow of King Hussein and President Mubarak and Yasser Arafat, there was silence from Damascus. Not a word came from the palace of President Hafez al-Assad (and thus, not surprisingly, not a peep came from the Lebanese prime minister, Rafiq Hariri).

Time, for the Arabs, is now frozen. And despite all the talk about redemption to peace, the whole "process" of Arab-Israeli rapprochement is now in adjournment.

If Rabin the old warrior could not tame the settlers, the Arabs are now asking, how can the distinctly unwarrior figure of Shimon Peres? Put more simply, what price peace?

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Handwritten text in Arabic script, possibly a signature or a note, located at the bottom center of the page.

RABIN ASSASSINATION



Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin addressing supporters at a rally for peace in Tel Aviv. Shortly afterwards the killer Yigal Amir (centre) shot the prime minister as he returned to his car, before being apprehended by police (right)



Solitary, religious student was 'told by God' to kill

PATRICK COCKBURN
Jerusalem

Seconds after he had fired his .22 pistol at Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, the slight, dark-haired figure of Yigal Amir was caught by the television camera as he was pushed up against a wall by the Israeli police, still clutching the gun.

He later explained quietly in his five-page confession that he

had "received instructions from God to kill Prime Minister Rabin." When police told him Rabin was dead he simply said: "I'm satisfied."

The 27-year-old third-year law student at Bar-Ilan university admitted he had tried to kill Rabin twice before but had not been able to get close enough.

On Saturday night he

emerged from a passageway behind the podium just as the Prime Minister returned to his armoured car, and shot Rabin at almost point-blank range.

He said he had planned to shoot Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister, if he had accompanied Rabin.

Mr Amir's political and religious background is typical of the right-wing extremists in Israeli politics. Of Yemenite ori-

gin, he grew up in a large family with seven brothers and sisters in Herzliya, north of Tel Aviv. His father was religious and his mother taught in a kindergarten. He went to a religious school and then to a yeshiva (religious college) in Ashdod. He was conscripted into the army and served in the Golani brigade. On leaving the army he went to Bar-Ilan.

The university is considered conservative and right wing

and is favoured by religious, but not necessarily fanatical, students from Tel Aviv. According to other students, he belonged to a religious group and had shadowy associations with Kach and Eyal, two of the most extreme right-wing and anti-Arab parties. Other students say he would try to recruit them to spend weekends in the West Bank with settlers.

Mr Amir's decision to kill Rabin seems to have been taken

almost a year ago. In January he waited for him at Yad Vashem, the memorial in Jerusalem to the victims of the Holocaust. But the explosion of a bomb planted by Islamic Jihad, the militant Muslim group, which killed 21 soldiers at Beit Lid, led the Prime Minister to postpone his visit.

"He would say: 'We have to stick it to Rabin and his government'," a fellow student said. Other students said he was

solitary. Avner Goldschmidt, a friend, said: "He was a wonderful person. I don't understand how he could do something like this." Mr Goldschmidt said he got to know Mr Amir when he joined settlers in the West Bank this summer in reestablishing a settlement in Barkan, near Nablus.

Television news footage of the settler demonstration on 31 July shows Mr Amir fighting police as they ejected him from the

makeshift encampment erected by settlers on the disputed West Bank hilltop. "Most of the people at the July rally were fairly calm, but Mr Amir's behaviour was extreme, overtly hostile, both to the police and to the press," said a Reuters Television cameraman, Eli Berelson, who covered the incident.

"Amir screamed at us, 'Why are you filming this? Why do you people dance on blood?'" Mr Berelson recalled.

Right tries to play down link to extremists

PATRICK COCKBURN
Jerusalem

Israeli right-wingers were running for cover yesterday, fearing political oblivion if the public becomes convinced that the venom of their attacks on Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli prime minister, led to his assassination.

"There is no compromising with Messianic politics," says Professor Yaron Ezrahi of the Hebrew University, denouncing the use of violence by religious idealists as a threat to Israeli democracy. He points out that at a recent rally in Jerusalem members of Likud silenced Rabin by cutting off his microphone. Now an assassin has silenced him for good.

Parallels like this are exactly what Likud does not want to hear. Over the last year settler groups had made repeated threats of violence if the Oslo agreement went ahead. Most of these were directed against Palestinians and the government was tolerant. But in recent months it was Rabin and Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister, who were demonised.

Earlier this year Ari Rath, a former editor of the *Jerusalem Post*, said that he was worried not just by the fact that the right put up notices showing Rabin as a Nazi but that nobody bothered to take them down.

The Labour party and the government seemed unconcerned by the growing atmosphere of violence.

Binyamin Netanyahu, the leader of Likud, the main right-wing grouping, did nothing to quell the far right. At the same time he was careful not to adopt their slogans and their policies. His aim was evidently to get their votes but without painting himself into a corner by promising to tear up the Oslo accords.

Some Likud members were more extreme. Arik Sharon, the former Defence Minister, is nominally a settler himself having taken over a house in the Old City of Jerusalem in 1987. But one commentator asked derisively whether the Likud members of the Knesset who were voluble about the need to defend the settlers were planning to move to the West Bank themselves.

Yigal Amir, Rabin's assassin, was not from a settlement but over the last year he took part in their demonstrations. The settlers now fear that they will attract a deep and lasting unpopularity.

It is also true, however, that after Baruch Goldstein, a settler from Hebron, killed 29 Palestinian worshippers at a Hebron mosque in 1994, the government passed up the chance to clamp down on religious extremists. It may do so again.

Since the founding of the state in 1948, much of Israeli politics has revolved around the tension between religious



Widow's grief: Yitzhak Rabin's wife, Leah, arriving at the Knesset yesterday. Photograph: Yannis Behrakis

and secular Jews. Israel was established as a Jewish state, but there were continued disputes about what this meant. Israelis tend to be much more conscious of this friction than the outside world which saw Israeli nationalism as being little different from anywhere else.

The most significant development over the next few weeks will be the degree of the split between the religious and the secular right. Mr Netanyahu will

have difficulty in straddling the two as he has done in the past and will distance himself from the settlers and other far right factions.

Liberal and secular Israelis hope that the trauma of the assassination will permanently weaken the religious and nationalist right.

Mr Peres will try to ensure that it does, but, such is their strength, it is unlikely that he can permanently succeed.

Damascus remains key to Middle East settlement

MICHAEL SHERIDAN
Diplomatic Editor

Three questions face the Middle East this week in the aftermath of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. Will Israel's left-of-centre government retain its grip on power until the general election due in November next year? Can Shimon Peres, named as acting Prime Minister, forge a domestic base strong enough to conduct Israel's last crucial set of negotiations with Syria? And does the violent shock of the assassination make it more or less likely that Syria itself will edge closer to a settlement?

President Bill Clinton, the Prime Minister, John Major, and a host of senior international figures will be present at today's funeral in Jerusalem principally to mourn Rabin. But they will also take this opportunity to reinforce the initiative to settle the dispute between Arabs and Jews that has caused five regional wars - in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982 - and continues to exact a steady toll of victims. The Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, will be flying on from Israel for a series of meetings with Arab leaders and it is likely that the US will also seek to generate new momentum in the stalled talks with Syria.

Yesterday, diplomats closely engaged in the peace negotiations believed Mr Peres would pursue and perhaps even accelerate talks with Damascus, knowing that under Israeli law he may now lead a transitional government with a 61-59 Knesset

majority through to the 1996 elections. Barring the usual crop of Israeli coalition crises, he should retain his grip on power.

The key figure needed for a Peres government to succeed in that policy will be the former army chief of staff, Ehud Barak, at present Minister of the Interior, perhaps the only figure capable of providing Israeli voters with the cautious reassurance that was Rabin's trademark.

Mr Barak has already held confidential talks at top level with Syrian staff officers and knows the military geography of the Golan Heights inside out. He is on close terms with the American negotiating team. His presence in the cabinet - perhaps as defence minister - means that Mr Peres could indeed find the domestic cohesion necessary to conclude a deal.

The effects on Syria itself are likely to be more psychological than tangible in character. President Hafez al-Assad was Rabin's foe in the 1967 war - he held office as Syria's minister of defence while Rabin was Israeli chief of staff. To President Assad, the visit of each envoy since Henry Kissinger 22 years ago has served to shift a small piece on the chessboard, each move serving his endgame of a liberated Golan Heights; thus, perhaps, preserving the stability of his own regime even after his demise. Israelis often talk about the life-and-death decisions over their own security; these are matters of life and death in

Damascus, too. The mutual suspicion and caution of Assad and Rabin reinforced the barriers to a settlement.

Rabin had transformed conventional political psychology elsewhere in the Middle East.



Moved to tears: President Clinton mourns for Rabin

"The atmospheric change was positively seismic," recalled James Baker, then US Secretary of State. In his recent memoirs, Mr Baker recounts Rabin's strategic decision to change Israeli policy, sacrificing the territorial aspirations of Jewish zealots in exchange for peace treaties with the Arab world. "I intend to persevere," Rabin told Mr Baker, "for the sake of 3.9 million Israeli Jews and a

million Israeli Arabs who should not have to mortgage their future for 100,000 settlers in the territories."

The fruits of Rabin's policy came through the Oslo accords with the Palestinians and a full peace treaty with Jordan. Together with the 1978 Camp David accords with Egypt, they secured for Israel the end of belligerency on all but its slender northern frontiers.

Damascus thus remains the key: "No war without Egypt, no peace without Syria" said Mr Kissinger. Only last week the Syrian press gave proof that official rhetoric has regressed to the Kissinger era. "Israel has pursued the path of terrorism, murder and massacres since its establishment," said the daily newspaper *Tishrin*. "Israel rejects the return of land and sets conditions under the pretext of peace." The ruling-party daily, *Al-Baath*, said: "The truth is that the real dispute is between Israel and the United Nations as long as Israel rejects the UN resolutions while Syria sticks to them." Mr Peres, interviewed before the assassination, said he believed Syria still wanted to keep their negotiating options open. He made clear his belief that Israel should press on with talks despite next year's election.

"In my view winning peace is no less important than winning elections," said Mr Peres. "We were put in office for a four-year term and we are duty bound to make full use of every minute, to serve the nation in matters of peace and security. There is no room for hesitation."

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PAPERS

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news

Heseltine steers Tory rhetoric to centre

DONALD MACINTYRE
Political Editor

Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister, yesterday led a concerted effort to retake the centre ground of British politics, amid a series of warnings from senior left-wing Tory backbenchers that a surrender to the right could cost the party the next election.

Mr Heseltine rejected Labour claims of a "lurch to the right" by the Tories, with a declaration that "all my life I have fought for 'one nation' Conservatism. I work for a prime minister whose every instinct is for 'one nation' Conservatism. Nothing will shake our passionate advocacy of the political priorities which are in the interests of our nation at large."

His uncompromisingly centrist remarks came amid signs of alarm among left-wing Tory

backbenchers that last week's Gallup poll showing Labour at 61 per cent, with its third highest lead ever over the Tories, appeared to vindicate Labour's claim that it was drifting away from one nation policies.

David Hunt, a Cabinet minister until the July reshuffle, went out of his way to warn that if the Government listened to the "siren voices" of the more "extreme right wing" it would also "move away from an election-winning strategy". And Sir Edward Heath, in terms which were outspoken, even by his standards, said that the party conference speech by Michael Portillo, the Secretary of State for Defence, had been "disgraceful", and that if he and Peter Lilley, the Secretary of State for Social Security, did not want a return to one nation policies they "could get out".

Mr Hunt also exposed divisions on the party's "Christian

Democratic" left wing by rejecting the central implications of a recent speech by Chris Patten, the former Conservative party chairman and now Governor of Hong Kong. Mr Patten suggested that a "shrinking" of the state was needed to match the competitiveness levels of the Asian "tiger" economies.

Mr Hunt said on BBC TV's *On the Record*: "The UK has got the balance about right between the American and Japanese system, which have very low levels of public spending, and the rest of Europe, especially France, Germany and Italy, that have got levels of public spending too high." A move further towards US and Japanese levels would threaten the social policies which were "critically necessary" to "a fair and just society", he added.

The exchanges came as the Government announced that it

had settled the 1996-97 spending round, at a level thought to be comfortably short of the £263bn ceiling set in last year's expenditure statement, and would not therefore need an extra Cabinet meeting today.

But business managers are expected to meet to finalise the Queen's Speech amid convincing indications that Mr Major has backed Lord Mackay's determination to introduce a Bill on divorce law reform in the next parliamentary session.

The divorce Bill was threatened by a rebellion of right-wing backbenchers and there is likely to be heavy emphasis by government representatives on the scope for amending the Bill during its parliamentary passage.

Sir Edward told *The World This Weekend* on BBC Radio 4: "The public sees that one group - a minority group in the party - is in fact running the show."



Antique road show: The London-to-Brighton car rally passing through Cuckfield, West Sussex, yesterday. Later, a 1903 Daimler driven by Nigel Mansell overheated outside the home of Brighton Kempton MP Sir Andrew Bowden, who rescued the ex-world motor racing champion with a watering can. Photograph: Philip Meech

ITN newsreader in photographs row back on air

REBECCA FOWLER

Julia Somerville, the ITN newsreader, will appear before the cameras to present the lunchtime news today for the first time since she became the focus of intense media attention after she was arrested last week over allegedly pornographic photographs.

Ms Somerville, 48, and her boyfriend, Jeremy Dixon, 56, an architect, were both questioned by police in connection with the pictures last Thursday evening. Mr Dixon was arrested at a West End branch of Boots, the chemist, where he was picking up a processed film of family snaps. Both have strenuously denied any wrongdoing.

The couple's home in Muswell Hill, north London, was besieged by journalists when it emerged that they were at the centre of the investigation into the photographs, which were reportedly of Ms Somerville's seven-year-old daughter in the bath.

An ITN spokeswoman confirmed that Ms Somerville would present her professional face to the world today, and will read the news as usual, and appealed for her to be left alone. "We would ask people to respect her privacy, her home and her family," Janie Ironside-Wood, said.

Ms Somerville was furious that reports of the investigation



Julia Somerville: Furious

had been leaked to the press in a statement she said: "I am extremely distressed that these unfounded allegations should have been leaked to newspapers," she said. "I strenuously deny any allegation of wrongdoing. Innocent family photographs, processed at Boots chemist, have been completely misconstrued."

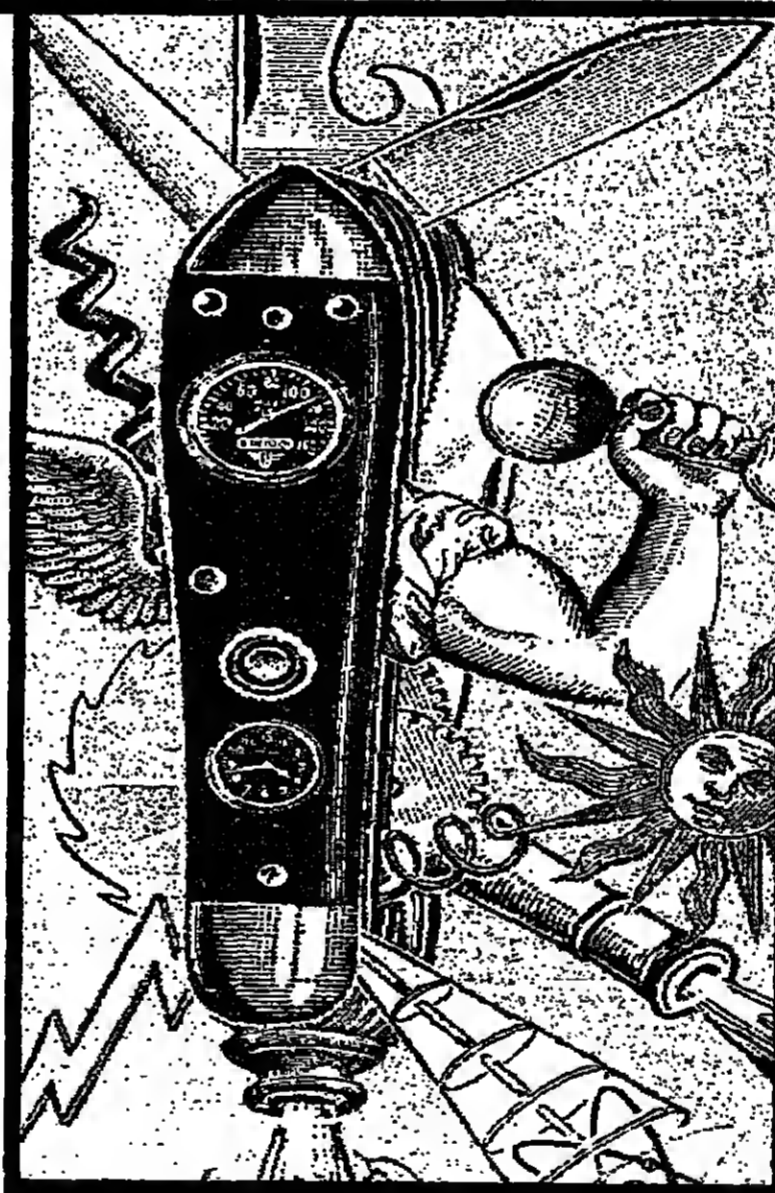
A Scotland Yard spokesman denied yesterday that information had been leaked. "We have acted responsibly throughout," the spokesman said. "We are unaware of how the details reached the media, but when we were asked we neither released nor confirmed the names of the individuals involved. We must stress that the normal processes that come into effect whenever any photographic developer is suspicious or anxious about photographs were carried out on this occasion."

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news

Greenpeace prunes UK branch

NICHOLAS SCHOON
Environment Correspondent

Greenpeace UK has decided to cut one-fifth of its salaried staff and turn thousands of its local fund-raising volunteers into trained campaigners.

The changes, which affect every part of the organisation, were approved by Greenpeace UK's board last week. Executive director Lord Peter Melchett, the driving force behind the shake-up, said it was needed to ensure Greenpeace remained "a thorn in the flesh" of those who wrecked the environment.

The job cuts, which have

been under intensive discussion for two months, have damaged morale. "People are anxious about their own jobs, or sad that friends are leaving," Eton and Cambridge-educated Lord Melchett said.

The number of salaried staff will fall from 83 to 65, but the actual number of redundancies is likely to be only about 10 because there were already several vacancies.

Until now, Greenpeace UK's 230 local groups have been heavily involved in fundraising through activities such as street and door-to-door collections, sponsored walks and selling Greenpeace merchandise.

They will be expected to do much less of that in future and this will cost the organisation £200,000 a year in lost revenue. Instead, the board wants them to take part in mass protest actions, such as the recent demonstration outside Chequers when John Major met the French President, Jacques Chirac.

The international environmental pressure group has a tradition of using small numbers of commissioned, modestly-paid activists for its potentially dangerous protest actions. They need special skills, such as flying helicopters, piloting inflatable and mountaineering up sheer structures.

But in the UK and some other European nations, Greenpeace is coming to the view that involving a much larger number of supporters in direct action is equally important. This year this has happened with "invasions" of British Nuclear Fuel's Sellafield plant and a Bastille Day party at the French Embassy, as well as at Chequers. Volunteers have been given training in non-violent protest techniques.

"Our supporters were more and more anxious to get involved," Lord Melchett, a junior minister in the last Labour government, said.

"They think they can make a difference."

At head office in Islington, north London, the aim is to keep the annual budget at just over £4m a year. Cuts in jobs and administration will save £600,000 a year. An extra £200,000 will be devoted to campaigning and £100,000 more spent on building up cash reserves.

The budget for recruiting new supporters through advertising and mailing campaigns is going up by £100,000 a year. Greenpeace said it now has 350,000 supporters - people who have given money in the past 18 months - compared to about 400,000 at its peak a few years ago.

"We've been living off the gains which came with our very rapid growth in the late 1980s," Lord Melchett said. "It's time to take off in new directions, to be more imaginative and do the unexpected."

He said the Brent Spar campaign of the summer had so far had no overall impact on donations and support for Greenpeace UK. A one-off appeal immediately after Shell backed down and abandoned plans to dump the giant oil storage buoy at sea did, however, raise about £100,000.

In Britain, the organisation will be investing more in campaigning for solutions to envi-



Melchett: Still in charge

ronmental problems. It is particularly keen on solar energy.

One thing that will remain constant is Lord Melchett himself. After running the UK organisation for six years he is Greenpeace's longest serving executive director among the 30 nations where it has offices.

IN BRIEF

Search for killer after car shooting

Police are hunting a gunman who shot a man three times at point-blank range as he got out of his car. Derek Palmer, in his forties, of Feltham, Middlesex, died after being hit twice in the head and once in the heart by a gunman wearing a crash helmet as he fetched a coat from his car in Kilburn, north London, on Saturday evening. Police are keeping an "open mind" about the motive.

Schools initiative

David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman will today try to steal a march on the Government by inviting council to pilot schemes for raising standards in poor schools by sacking the head, weak teachers and replacing some governors.

Priest resigns

A Presbyterian minister at the centre of an investigation into the import of pornographic videos has resigned. The Rev David Templeton, of Trinity Church in Greyabbey, Co Down, had been on sick leave following the allegations.

Caine tribute

Ken Ives, husband of the comedienne Marti Caine, thanked fans for their support during her fight against cancer. Ms Caine, 50, died on Saturday, a day after discharging herself from hospital following a relapse.

Lottery winners

Three ticket-holders won a share in Saturday's National Lottery jackpot of £8,395,862. They matched the winning numbers of 6, 14, 18, 27, 44 and 48, reaping £2,798,623 each. The bonus number was 1.

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Beatlemania revival: Collectors devour the tacky and trivial as band survivors attack use of songs in commercials

Fans weep over plastic guitars

DAVID LISTER
Arts Correspondent

It is the most limited limited edition in the world. In 1958 The Quarry Men, an embryonic pop band later to be The Beatles, made an acetate - a demo recording - of a song called "In Spite Of All The Danger". There is just one copy. If you have it, polish it. Its estimated value now is £100,000.

That song, the only one written by Paul McCartney and George Harrison, will feature on the CD released later this month to accompany *The Beatles Anthology* television series. Beatles memorabilia has always commanded high prices. But the renewed interest in the group is reinforcing interest in the tackiest ephemera. Records, as opposed to ephemera, are also being sought by collectors. Frustratingly, many are items that were common at the time and discarded by fans who did not anticipate a Beatles revival.

For example, the last Beatles album released was the box set of *Let It Be* in 1970. The box containing album and booklet was held in place by a cardboard tray and was so hard to open that nearly every copy got ripped or thrown away. If yours did not, it now fetches £150. The

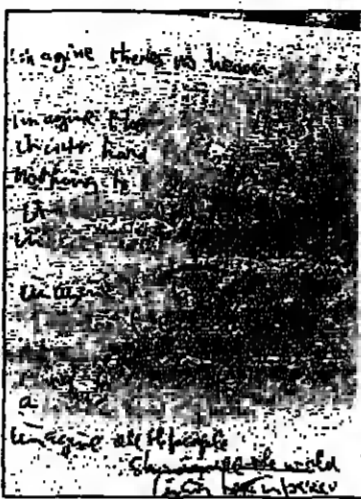
original of their first album, *Please Please Me* in 1963, rates £150 for the mono version, and £750 for the stereo.

Ephemera continues to sell, of course. A stud from the Abbey Road zebra crossing sold this year for £380.

With interest in the group again reaching near manic proportions, some of the wanted ads for Beatles memorabilia have a mid-Sixties look. One collector is offering £700 for any set of Beatles autographs - despite the fact that the group often had their road managers fake their autographs. £1,000 for Beatles posters; and £10,000 for an original manuscript of Lennon and McCartney lyrics.

Tracks, in Chorley, Lancashire, is the country's biggest specialist dealer in Beatles memorabilia, selling mainly in America and Japan. Paul Wane, the proprietor, said: "People went through the Sixties, got married, and put all their Beatles things up in the attic. There's an awful lot of the really tacky bric-a-brac that came out in the Sixties, but there's a huge market. A plastic Beatles guitar will now fetch £300."

However, Mr Wane's prize possession is a lyric to what he describes as a "truly terrible" unpublished song by John Lennon, on offer for £60,000.



Collectables: Above, Lennon's lyrics to 'Imagine' on the back of a hotel bill; (below) a letter from McCartney in Hamburg and (right) a 1967 'Time' cover



Jackson 'cheapens' our songs

The three remaining Beatles yesterday attacked superstar singer Michael Jackson for "cheapening" their work.

Jackson bought the rights to the Beatles' music for £50m and has allowed some songs to be used in television commercials.

George Harrison warned: "Unless we do something about it, every Beatles song is going to end up advertising bras and pork pies."

Paul McCartney said Jackson - with whom he recorded two singles in the 1980s, "Say Say" and "The Girl Is Mine" - had "cheapened" the songs.

Their comments came just ahead of the release of *The Beatles Anthology* album later this month, which will feature the first new tracks for 25 years. The Beatles spoke of the "magic" of recording new tracks together again. "Free As A Bird" and "Real Love" were recorded by Paul McCartney, Ringo Starr and George Harrison from tapes started by the fourth Beatle, John Lennon, who was murdered in 1980.

But on the two tracks, and thanks to multi-track recording equipment, Lennon's voice joins his old friends in the Abbey Road studio. McCartney told *Elle* magazine: "It was all very strange and very magical."

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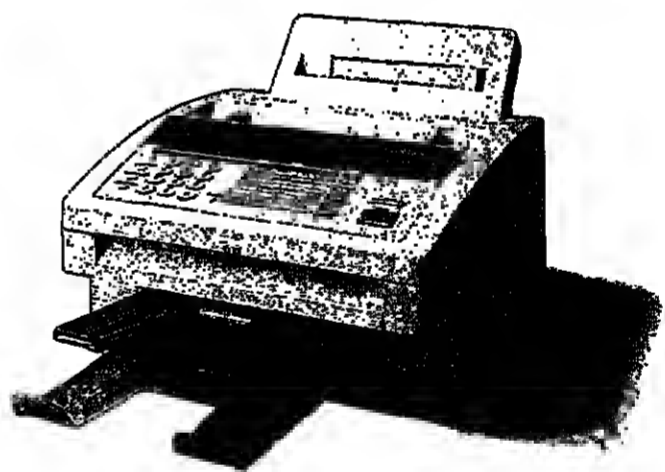
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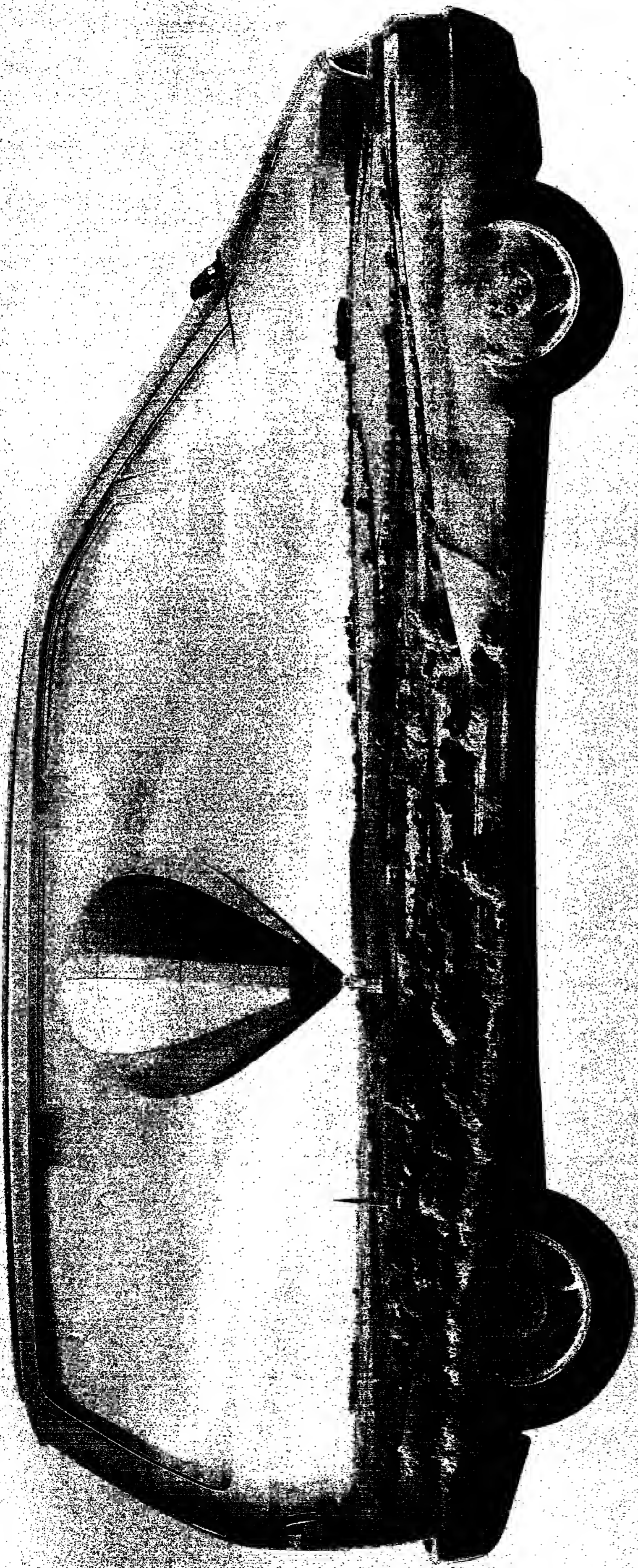
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news

National Lottery: Betting industry calls for cut in tax as changed gambling habits put thousands of shops at risk of closure



Backing a loser: Profits have been hit as people spend their money on lottery tickets, rather than horses

Photograph: David Rose

Bookies warn they may not last the course

GLENDIA COOPER

As the National Lottery approaches its first birthday, bookmakers claim that unless the Government takes rapid action they will be forced out of business.

On Friday, the independent bookmakers Stanley Leisure announced that half-year profits were "significantly below" that achieved for the comparable half year in 1994-95. Three days earlier, Vernons Pools had announced 150 redundancies. Both companies blamed the National Lottery.

The bookmakers want the Government to reduce betting tax by 2 per cent, allow bookmakers to bet on lottery numbers and accelerate the deregulation process which will permit jackpot and fruit machines in the shops.

Last month a report from the Henley Centre estimated that 2,400 of England's 9,300 betting shops would have to close, unless the Government cut betting tax by 2 per cent. The "big three" - Ladbrokes, Coral and William Hill - own about 5,000 shops between them; the rest are owned by small independents, who are suffering most.

Don Bruce's father and grandfather both worked as bookmakers and he entered the business in 1948. He got his first shop in 1963 (cash betting only became legal in 1960) and now owns 12 shops around London, which are currently losing him £50,000 a year.

He would like to sell his shops, but fears trading conditions are so bad at the moment that no one would buy.

"It's never been worse," he said. "We've got some good and some marginal shops. The marginal shops are just hanging on while we wait for legislation to come in."

Mr Bruce's greatest loss has been from what he calls the "roulette wheel" customers - who have been lured away by scratchcards.

"There is always an element that use racing but are not interested in the form - the sort that always put a 10p treble on Traps 1 and 2 at Hackney," he said. "They bid on a small scale on famous names. One way or another, scratchcards have attracted this sort of punter. And that's made marginal shops more desperate."

He says that actual turnover has not fallen: "But it has effectively fallen because we've been doing much more hours with the introduction of evening

racing and Sunday racing. So we're making less per meeting."

If a shop does not open on a Sunday, the punter will take his bet - and return to claim his winnings - elsewhere. So although most shops will only get 40 per cent of customers they would on a weekday, they are too scared of losing further custom not to open.

But it would be wrong to blame all retail life on the lottery, according to Ray Stone, assistant director of the Henley Centre. In March, the centre brought out a report, *Lottery Fallout*, which looked at the effect of lottery spending last December and January.

At that time, some of the 10,000 shops and garages with lottery terminals had seen sales rise by as much as 20 per cent since November 1994. Food stores had doubled sales at their tobacco counters.

The report also warned that pubs and restaurants were likely to see trade fall, or at least shift around, as so many people were staying home later to watch the draw. It suggested that cinemas might have to reschedule Saturday evening shows, or even announce the draw themselves.

However, Mr Stone said that these findings were preliminary and some were out of date six months on. *Lottery Fallout 2*, a report which looks at the first full year, will be published at the end of November.

"People should be asking different questions," he said. "It is not all the National Lottery. We should look at what else has made a difference. For instance, the hot weather this summer made people spend a lot more on drinks."

Mr Bruce disagrees. He says he will hang on until the Budget in just over three weeks time to see if the cut in betting tax which would create a "level playing field" appears. "But we can't bang on much longer."

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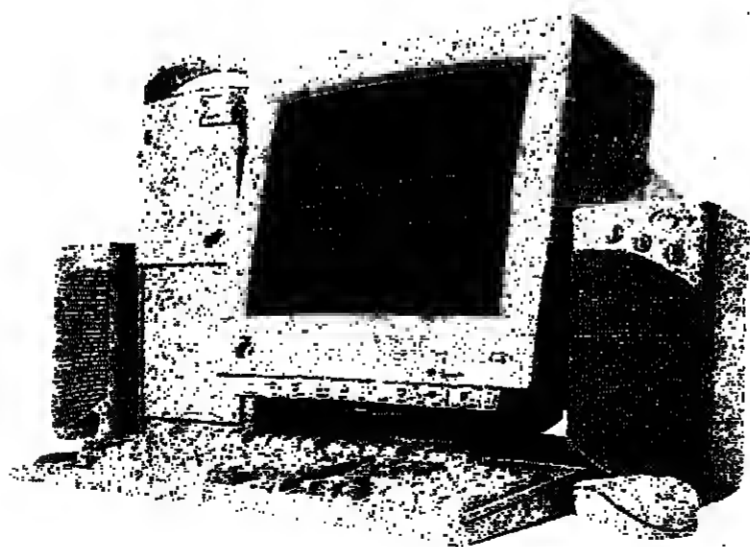
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Howard to extend electronic tagging as trial founders

JASON BENNETT
Crime Correspondent

The £1.4m trial in electronic tagging of offenders is expected to be extended this week as the Home Office desperately tries to save the plan from disaster.

In the first half of the 36-week experiment only 13 criminals have been given the electronic monitors. The decision to continue the trial for what is believed to be a further three months is seen as evidence that the scheme is becoming unworkable and a huge embarrassment to the Home Office.

Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, hailed the use of electronic tags - which are placed around an offender's hand or wrist and can be monitored to ensure that the person stays under house arrest - as a significant new development in the fight against crime.

However, in the first half of the experiments magistrates have imposed tags as part of curfew orders on five offenders in Manchester, six in Norfolk and two in Reading. Two people have been returned to court

for breaching their orders. The Home Office hopes that an extension will allow further people to be tagged which will enable a proper assessment of the system.

The National Association of Probation Officers claims that Home Office officials have been lobbying magistrates to use more tags.

It estimates that 7,500 pre-sentence reports have been produced since the trial began and that in only 55 cases have magistrates asked whether tagging was appropriate.

A meeting between Home Office officials, probation managers and magistrates will take place this week to discuss the trials. In tests in 1989 only 49 offenders were tagged out of a hopeful 140.

Harry Fletcher of the probation officers' association said any extension of the trial would be evidence that the system was on its last legs.

The Home Office did not deny that the trials were about to be extended three months. It said an announcement would be made later this week.

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Probation hostel wardens offered 'zero-hours' deal

BARRIE CLEMENT
Labour Editor

Hostel wardens who often look after criminals have been offered Burger King-style "zero hours contracts" by the probation service.

Relief workers in special homes, used for suspects on bail and criminals on probation, have been asked to be on call virtually 24 hours a day, but are only paid when they work.

They are thought to be among the first government employees to be offered the arrangement, which first came to public notice when employment conditions among temporary workers at a Burger King restaurant in Glasgow were exposed. The fast-food chain has since abandoned the contracts.

The auxiliary hostel staff, mostly women, are not expected to wait on the premises for work as they were at the restaurant but in common with Burger King, they are only employed on a pay-as-you-work basis.

Relief wardens in West Yorkshire have enlisted the help of community lawyers to fight the new system, but the National Association of Probation Officers believes the practice is widespread throughout the country and growing because of cuts in budgets. The auxiliary

workers in West Yorkshire used to be given substantial notice of shifts, according to lawyers, and some were regularly working at least 30 hours a week.

Cuts have meant that there are no permanently employed wardens available to be switched from one hostel to another in case of absence. Back-up staff have been warned, however, that there will be fewer work opportunities.

One of several women who contacted Kirklees Community Law Centre in Yorkshire - she wants to remain anonymous for fear of losing her job - had been employed as a hostel relief worker for more than two years but had not been offered a contract of employment.

Without specialist training, but with a high degree of "interpersonal skill" required for the job, she was paid £5.74 an hour and relied on it for her income. At times she had sole responsibility for a hostel.

Previously she was notified monthly about shifts she would be required to work. But in September she received a letter from management acknowledging that there may have been "some confusion" about the employment status of assistant wardens.

It added: "As a relief worker, you are employed on a casual, as and when required

basis, in order to provide cover when permanent staff are not available. As a casual worker, there is no obligation on you to accept work and equally there is no obligation on the hostels to provide you with work."

Julia O'Hara, a lawyer at the law centre, said it was clear that her client could be called in with little or no notice and that a refusal to accept shifts would eventually lead to the loss of her job.

Ms O'Hara believes her clients have a case under European health and safety law and employment protection directives. They may also have recourse to existing British legislation on sex equality.

Probation service officials in West Yorkshire yesterday argued that the new working arrangements had been forced on them by a reduction in budgets. But a management source conceded that the employment conditions of assistant wardens were "highly unsatisfactory".

Harry Fletcher of the probation officers' union said the growth of zero-hours contracts would lead to a deterioration in the service.

A spokesman for the Home Office, which has responsibility for the hostels, said: "It is not for us to comment on the management of the West Yorkshire Probation Service."

Holiday rights 'worst in EU'

Labour today stepped up its demand for improved rights to paid holidays after a survey showed Britain lagging behind its European neighbours.

British workers are alone in Europe in having no legal right to paid holidays, according to a study by Professor Francis Green of Leeds University School of Business and Economic Studies.

Michael Meacher, Labour's employment spokesman, urged the Government to end its opposition to the European Directive on Working Time, which would guarantee a minimum of three weeks' holiday to all qualifying employees. A total of 1.75

million employees, two-thirds of whom were in the distribution, hotel, catering and other services, would benefit, he said.

He urged the Government to drop its opposition to the directive, which was agreed by a majority of member states two years ago. Britain's case is due to be heard in the European Court early next year.

Professor Green's study, *Union Recognition and Paid Holiday Entitlement*, shows:

- One in nine workers in Britain gets no paid holiday.
- Unionised workers receive a total of 4.5 days more holiday on average than non-unionised employees.

■ Part-time and temporary workers and those working in small establishments are most likely to be denied paid holidays.

Mr Meacher said: "This excellent new study shows conclusively that Britain is stuck at the bottom of the European league when it comes to paid holidays."

"It is about time the Tories abandoned the myth that employment rights destroy jobs. On the contrary, job insecurity and exploitation does terrible damage to our economy."

"Labour believes British workers should be at the top of the European league when it comes to employment rights."

Sunday banking: NatWest backs personal approach at family-friendly branch



Family affair: NatWest's Lakeside Shopping Centre branch, which offers nappy-changing facilities and Disney videos. Photograph: Edward Sykes

Seven-day 'financial store' opens new era



Welcoming words: The new branch's seven-day schedule

JOJO MOYES

Britain yesterday saw the launch of the "bank branch of the future", offering Sunday opening, automated or personal service, and complete with soft-furnishings, Disney videos and nappy-changing facilities.

According to NatWest, the branch at Lakeside Shopping Centre in Thurrock, Essex, is the first UK bank to open seven days a week, all year round. And it is less a branch, the company says, than a financial store; a new concept in banking which rejects the notion that all banking will eventually take place via telephone or digital screen.

"Research tells us that people are very happy to do basic transactional banking over the phone or via machines. But for things like mortgages and pensions they are much less confident," Tim Burfoot, head of NatWest distribution strategy,

said. "We wanted to create an environment which was about people, where they could feel comfortable and relaxed. We think this is the branch of the future."

Instead of counters, the bank has cash and foreign exchange machines on one side, along with a telephone which offers direct connection to banking and insurance services.

On the other side it has coffee lounge-type rooms, complete with paintings and soft-furnishings, where customers can talk over coffee with financial advisers. Videos and play-kits are available for small children, along with nappy-changing facilities.

"The emphasis is not on cash but on talking to people," Roger Thomas, the regional managing director, said. "People can be here for some hours discussing pensions or mortgages and they frequently bring

children so we wanted to make everything comfortable for them and reduce some of the anxiety and stress people feel in these circumstances."

John Harding, one of two "store managers" at the new branch, denied that the new title was a change in name only. He said the new layout was like a "conventional shop" where people could walk round and store assistants would offer help. "That's why we're calling it a store," he said.

Opening at Lakeside on a Sunday makes financial sense to the bank. With 500,000 customers a week, Sundays are now as busy as Saturdays. According to NatWest there had been little opposition to Sunday opening, either from banking unions or staff, who had oversubscribed the new jobs by 10 to 1.

And the crowd of 150 people who had come to join in the opening celebrations were

equally enthusiastic. Sporting badges, balloons and silly hats, they appeared to treat the new opening, complete with champagne, streamers and a loud countdown, with as much enthusiasm as the staff.

"I definitely like it," said Kerry Vale from Witham, shopping with her four-year-old son Reece. "I would rather come on Sunday. And if you've got to sit down and talk then at least there's stuff to keep the kids occupied." Steve Thompson, a 27-year-old hod carrier, agreed. "Sunday's just the same as any other day now really, isn't it?" he said. "It would be better for me as I wouldn't have to take time off work."

He had been standing by the ceremonial ribbon for nearly 25 minutes. So was he impressed by the celebrations? "Not really. There's no need for all this, is there? I'm just waiting to use the bloody cash machine."

Tories 'increasingly dominated' by privileged Oxbridge minority

DONALD MACINTYRE
and CATHY NEWMAN

The myth that the Conservatives have forsaken their patrician past to become a classless party of self-made, self-educated barrow boys and shopkeepers is comprehensively debunked in an academic study to be published this month.

If anything, the leading

cadres of the party have shown a greater tilt towards a public school and Oxbridge background since Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979, the new research reveals. And the trend has actually accelerated since John Major made its demise the theme of his leadership campaign in 1990.

While Tony Blair is on the brink of becoming the first

public school prime minister since Lord Home and Mr Major famously went to a state comprehensive, there has been an increase in the number of Tory ministers to have been privately educated and to have attended Oxford and Cambridge.

The report, *The Conservative Parliamentary Elite 1964-1994: The End of Social Convergence*, to be published in the November

issue of the journal *Sociology*, demonstrates that in the last 16 years there has been a 7 per cent increase in the number of Tories with a privileged academic background.

The authors, David Baker, Imogen Fountain, Andrew Gamble and Steve Ludlam, from Sheffield and Nottingham Trent universities, say: "The patrician retreat has

actually been halted and reversed."

Since 1983, the number of Conservative MPs educated in the private sector and at traditional universities has gone up by 3 per cent.

During the Thatcher years, 19 per cent of ministers were Old Etonians; under Major, 22 per cent. The figure is particularly striking as the proportion of Old

Etonian Tory MPs in general has halved since 1974.

The Prime Minister's lack of university qualifications is not matched by his colleagues. More and more Tory MPs have a university degree. In 1964-66, the research found, 24 per cent of Conservative MPs had no tertiary education; the figure in 1992 fell to 9 per cent.

"The party's parliamentary

elite, and recruitment into it, remains predominantly the preserve of men from a socially and economically exclusive minority group, and their predominance is being reasserted," the report says.

This pattern may be explained by the social composition of the Tory heartland, which means that public school and Oxbridge educated politi-

cians tend to get selected for safe rural seats.

Steve Ludlam said: "There was a bit of research in the Eighties suggesting that Margaret Thatcher's leadership was heralding 'embourgeoisification'. Our research suggests that this trend has gone into reverse. The Tory elite has a very disproportionate access to safe seats."

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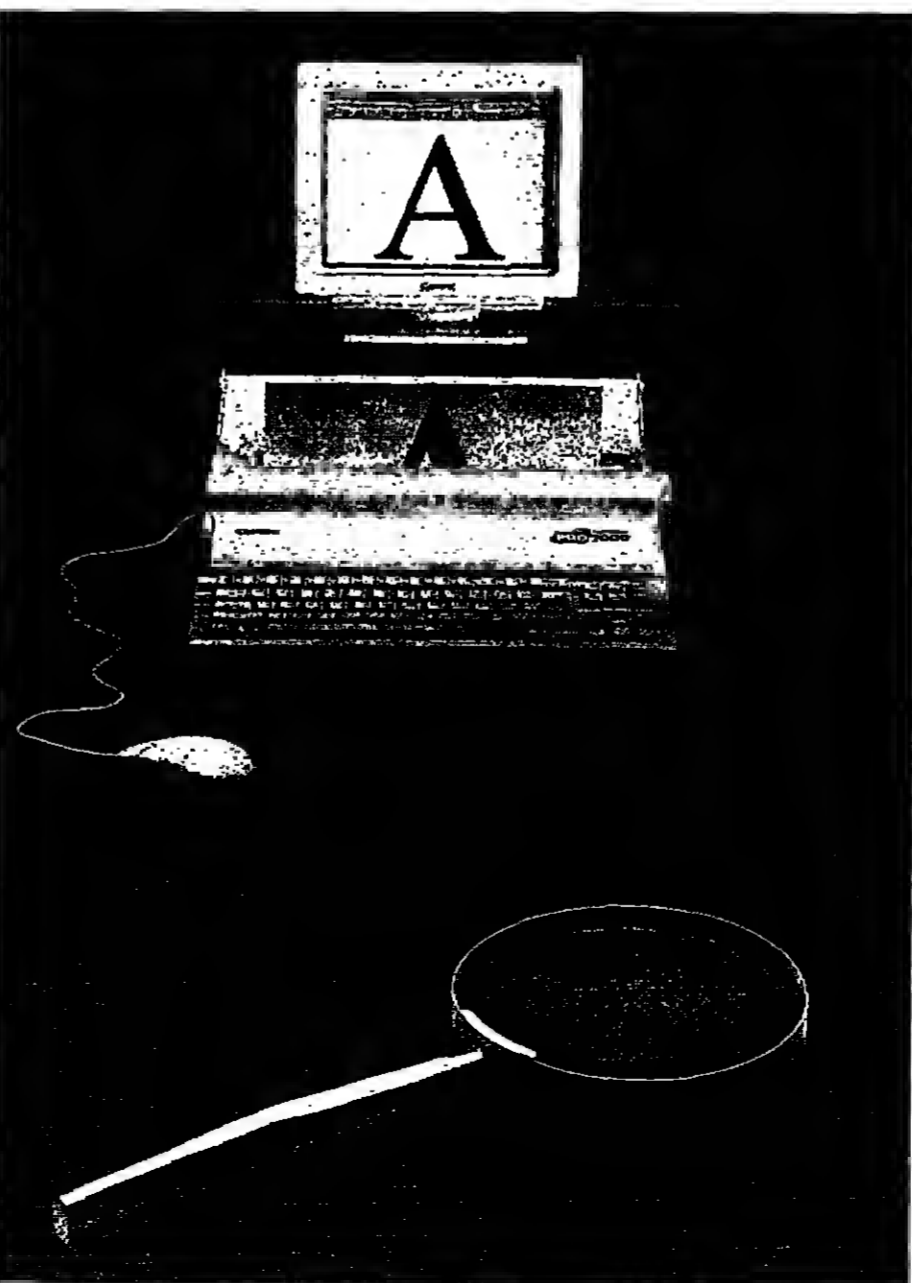
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DAILY POEM

Squaring the Circle

By Gwyneth Lewis

Here is the body of Mary of Burgundy with a box containing the heart of her son, Philip the Handsome. Was it wise to become so centralised?

In a convent in Spain Joanna the Mad, inflamed by all the women he had, keeps guard at his body inflamed by the heat of the gothic fever that's to be her fate - her Castilian hate. For who's to say where his real heart lay?

And in the Salle des Mariages the members of Mary's entourage have been hung like portraits, so they never think of rearranging this odd ménage of three dominions all out of synch.

For these are not bodies but politics and the truth is that having Philip back has given his mother a heart attack.

Gwyneth Lewis's *Parables and Fables*, published by Bloodaxe Books has been awarded the 1995 Aldeburgh Poetry Festival Prize for the year's best first collection. It is a scintillating brew of sardonic observation, gleeful whimsy and, as one reviewer remarked, the warmest of commitments to human feeling. She more interesting aspects of European and Asian history and the landscapes of her native Wales. One of the finest poetry books of the year.

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Tamils launch great armada as Jaffna crumbles



Security alert: Sri Lankan soldiers guarding the presidential secretariat building in Colombo yesterday

Photograph: Jason Reed/Reuters

TIM MCGIRK
Vavuniya, northern Sri Lanka

Using an armada of leaky skiffs and outboard motors that sputter along on a mixture of kerosene and coconut oil, Tamil rebels have launched one of the biggest sea evacuations seen in recent times.

More than 120,000 Tamils, men, women and children are queuing on the Jaffna peninsula to be taken by Tiger rebels across the dunes and on to the tiny boats that will carry them on a two-and-a-half-hour journey across a vast lagoon whipped by monsoon rains. The Tamils are fleeing an invasion of the peninsula by the Sri Lankan armed forces, who are intent on capturing Jaffna, the rebel citadel.

Jaffna may fall within days, once the soldiers have defused mines and booby-traps left by the Tamil Tigers. But the troops will find a city emptied of its 300,000 souls. All have fled, save for a few priests caring for elderly people too infirm to move. Hidden around Jaffna are probably a number of Black Tigers - the rebel suicide commandos - who are expected to make a last stand in the city they had once hoped to make capital of Eelam, their independent Tamil state. "Most of the Tigers have

left Jaffna. They've crossed the lagoon," said a weary refugee priest who walked through the government checkpoint near Vavuniya. The guerrillas have not run in panic, but after suffering nearly 1,000 losses in two weeks of fighting with the Sri Lankan forces, they have been ordered to retreat. They are now hiding in the jungle on the other side of the lagoon.

The authorities accuse the Tigers of herding people out of Jaffna and using them as "a human shield for their own military evacuation". The guerrillas may have wanted to protect lives, or they may want to show that Tamils fled the city because they refused to live under government domination. Wary of international opinion, the army does not dare to strafe the refugee flotilla skittering across the lagoon, though it easily could.

Only a few refugee families left Tiger territory by road through the minefields of a jungle on man's land and into the government-controlled south. Some said it was because the Tigers refused to let them pass unless they paid 50,000 rupees (£500) for a "three-month visa" into enemy territory. Others insisted that few Tamils wanted to go south because they were afraid of reprisals by the island's majority Sinhalese. Unable to halt the army's assault on Jaffna, the Tigers lately have turned on easier prey, massacring Sinhalese and Muslim villagers in the borderlands.

These refugees voiced bitterness towards their supposed protectors. After the Tiger chief, Velupillai Prabhakaran, broke off peace talks with the government in April and restarted the 12-year-old civil war, many Tamils now openly express fear and distrust of their rebel leaders. "The Tigers may have a dream of Eelam, but not the people. All we want is peace," said one Tamil refugee who came with his family. "We are ready to compromise."

Other recent travellers into the battle zone spoke of a "sense of betrayal" now felt by the Tigers towards the Tamils. A school principal, a teacher, a civil servant, and a dozen businessmen were all killed recently as "traitors". The various Jaffna churches, which in the past supported the Tamil struggle, are no longer as keen to do so. "The Tigers came to the schools and asked the principals to help in a recruiting drive. The principals refused. They said 'We can't go to homes and ask parents to give up another son and daughter,'" a priest said. It is a far cry from the days, not long ago, when many impressionable Tamil teenagers were eager to join the elite Black Tigers and become suicide commandos. Now the Tiger ranks are thinning. Advancing soldiers have found dead rebels - boys

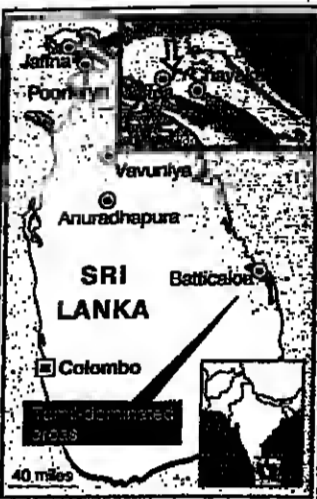
and girls - as young as 13. Jaffna refugees claim that the city's bishops pleaded with Tiger commanders several days ago to resume peace talks with the government.

"The Tigers gave us no answer," one priest said, even though in August, President Chandrika Kumaratunga offered Tamils greater autonomy, giving them control over their own land rights, education, and police force.

So far, observers claim that the Sri Lankan forces have taken care to keep down civilian casualties. One recent traveller to Jaffna said: "I heard shells falling all the time and I thought thousands must be dying, but that's just not happening."

More than 400,000 Tamils are trapped by the fighting. They are camping in schools, Hindu temples, coverts, anywhere that gives shelter from the monsoon rains. Where they are huddled, in Chavakachchi, less than six miles from the battle zone, and the hammering of artillery shells and mortars is relentless.

The fratricidal aspects of this conflict are also apparent. The northern Tamils and the southern Sinhalese have co-existed on this island for centuries. Some blame the British colonialists for upsetting the equilibrium by giving



ing the minority Tamils a boost.

The Sinhalese government cannot decide whether the Tamils, like a rebellious younger brother, should be coddled or beaten. So, confusingly, it does both.

Even in the Tiger-run areas, Colombo still pays salaries to teachers, bank clerks and postmen. It also sends food and the very few supplies which the inventive Tigers cannot use for war purposes.

Tamil refugees are in no immediate danger of starving, according to relief agencies. But the danger exists that, denied proper medicine and water purifiers by the government, since these too are bizarrely considered to be *materiel*, Tamils fleeing the war may soon find themselves facing a far more deadly enemy: a cholera epidemic.

Marked woman hopes to unseat Shevardnadze

PHIL REEVES
Tbilisi

Were it not for amazing good fortune, Irina Sarisvili-Chanturia would not have lived to see her countrymen step out to the polls for an election that will almost certainly return Eduard Shevardnadze to the Georgian President's office.

Had the assassins had their way, she would have died with her husband, Giorgi, who was shot 11 months ago in one of several unsolved political murders.

But she survived the spray of machine-gun fire, although she still has a bullet lodged near her heart. Since then, at 32, she has become one of the country's three most popular politicians and head of the National Democratic Party (NDP), perhaps the best-organised party in Georgia.

Long lines of Georgians spent yesterday queuing in the tree-lined boulevards and cobble streets outside the polling stations. But Mrs Sarisvili-Chanturia was to be found in her Tbilisi office, still wearing her widow's weeds. "Why was he slain?" she asked, then answered: "Because he was a real alternative. He was a real alternative to the presidential elections."

The couple had been preparing for three years for Mr Chanturia, the NDP chairman, to run for the top job. She blames Georgia's former head of security, Igor Giorgadze, whom the Georgian government has charged with trying to assassinate Mr Shevardnadze in August. The Georgian authorities say he is in Moscow, and suspect he is being protected by former KGB men.

But she also blames the President for surrounding himself with people like Mr Giorgadze.

"Even if he is a democrat, it doesn't mean he can't make a mistake," she said. "Sometimes his image in the West is an obstacle for us. It's been very hard to prove he can be wrong."

That Mr Shevardnadze has kept strange company is beyond doubt. He was propelled to power in 1992 by two militias, the National Guard and the Mikhedioni (Horsemen), which engineered the coup that ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia but quickly turned into a lawless mafia. His regime has since jailed many of their members and accuses one of their leaders, Mr Giorgadze, of attempted murder. Mr Gamsakhurdia suddenly died, supposedly by committing suicide.

Such murky politics would normally cause concern, but not in Georgia. Criticism of Mr Shevardnadze is rare, except from Gamsakhurdia supporters. Time and again, voters in Tbilisi described Mr Shevardnadze as the only choice, a pragmatist who knows how to turn the predatory instincts of Russia and the West to Georgia's interests. The streets are cleared of armed men, they said; sparse power supplies are improving. Who else is there?

The brutal nature of Georgian politics does not deter Mrs Sarisvili-Chanturia. She now has an escort of six bodyguards.

She believes that her party, which has ties to the Republicans in the United States, won 35 per cent of the vote in yesterday's poll, which included elections to the parliament. She plans to push her party's pro-Western, anti-mafia, anti-Russian agenda.

"Of course I'm afraid," she said, lighting yet another cigarette. "I'm not mad. But each of us will die some day."

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Andreotti faces murder trial

ANDREW GUMBEL
Rome

The former Italian prime minister, Giulio Andreotti, already on trial for criminal involvement with the Sicilian Mafia, was indicted yesterday on the separate and even more damaging charge of ordering the murder of an investigative journalist who had been threatening to reveal some of his darkest political secrets.

Mr Andreotti, the eminence grise of the postwar Christian Democrat establishment and Italy's best-known politician abroad, was ordered to stand trial on 2 February along with five other suspects for the killing of Mino Pecorelli, a Rome-based magazine editor who was shot in the head twice at close range outside his offices on 20 March 1979.

According to the prosecution, Mr Andreotti, at the time serving the fifth of his seven stints as prime minister, asked his friends in the Sicilian Mafia to arrange the murder because he was afraid of the potentially damaging revelations that Pecorelli might make about his activities during the kidnapping and murder of a fellow Christian Democrat and former prime minister, Aldo Moro, by the Red Brigades in 1978.

Among Mr Andreotti's co-defendants will be two Cosa Nostra chieftains, Pippo Calò and Gaetano Badalamenti, the two gangsters accused of actually carrying out the crime, Michelangelo La Barbera and Massimo Carminati, and one of Mr Andreotti's closest political allies, the former magistrate and foreign trade minister, Claudio Vitalone.

The case is based almost wholly on the revelations of six

mafiosi who have turned state's evidence, including the first and most important of the Cosa Nostra supergrass, Tommaso Buscetta.

The judge presiding over the preliminary court ruled yesterday that the accounts of the six tallied sufficiently to provide a "coherent basis to proceed".

Lawyers for Mr Andreotti and Mr Vitalone, however, described the admission of their evidence as a "death knell for justice" and "a web of accusations based on stories that have been cooked up and concocted".

Rumours have been swirling for years that the Christian Democrat leadership, including the faction led by Mr Andreotti, allowed Moro to be killed, because he represented a threat to their party interests and because he favoured a political coalition with the Communist Party.

Pecorelli had several sources in the intelligence services which he used time and again to embarrass the Christian Democrats in his magazine, *Opus*. Inevitably he made many enemies, and acquired a reputation for obtaining information by blackmail.

One of the prosecution's difficulties will be to prove that he had indeed dug up compromising information about Mr Andreotti, since he took his secrets with him to the grave.

There is also a problem with the witnesses, since the two members of Cosa Nostra with whom Mr Andreotti is alleged to have had direct contact, the cousins Nino and Ignazio Salvo, are both now dead.

The defence will concentrate on knocking the credibility of the Mafia turncoats, as it is doing at Mr Andreotti's other trial, which began in Palermo on

26 September. Its biggest liability in both cases is likely to be Mr Andreotti himself, whose statements are often hard to believe, if not downright contradictory.

Earlier this week Mr Andreotti said he had had only two contacts with Pecorelli, once when the journalist asked him for advice on combating headaches, and again in a letter of condolence when Mr Andreotti's mother died. Both episodes seem very odd for two otherwise unacquainted men.

The Mafia trial in Palermo and the murder trial, which will take place in the central city of Perugia, could take years to complete. The lawyers in Palermo are still arguing about procedure after five weeks in and out of court. Mr Andreotti, who is 76, said yesterday he hoped both cases could be resolved "within a time frame that is not Biblical".



Prime suspect: Mr Andreotti being escorted to court in Perugia for questioning over the 1979 murder of a journalist, Mino Pecorelli. Photograph: Leonetto Medici/AP

international

Walesa fights for presidency

ADRIAN BRIDGE
Warsaw

Polish voters yesterday faced a perplexing choice between 13 different candidates in the first round of presidential elections.

The list included two former prime ministers, the head of the central bank, a veteran dissident, a beer lovers' campaigner and a popular comedian. Only two candidates, however, were given much of a chance of getting through to the run-off in two weeks time: Aleksander Kwasniewski, a reformed Communist, and Lech Walesa, the incumbent and former leader of the Solidarity trade union.

Mr Kwasniewski, the front runner, was buoyant as he voted in the wealthy Warsaw district of Wilanow. He was adamant that a vote for him would not mean a return to Communism. "Communism is a thing of the past. There is no sense in its coming back," said the former sports minister in Poland's last Communist administration who now describes

himself as a Social Democrat. "Poland has moved on. We are successfully building democracy and the free market and whoever is elected president should defend these successes."

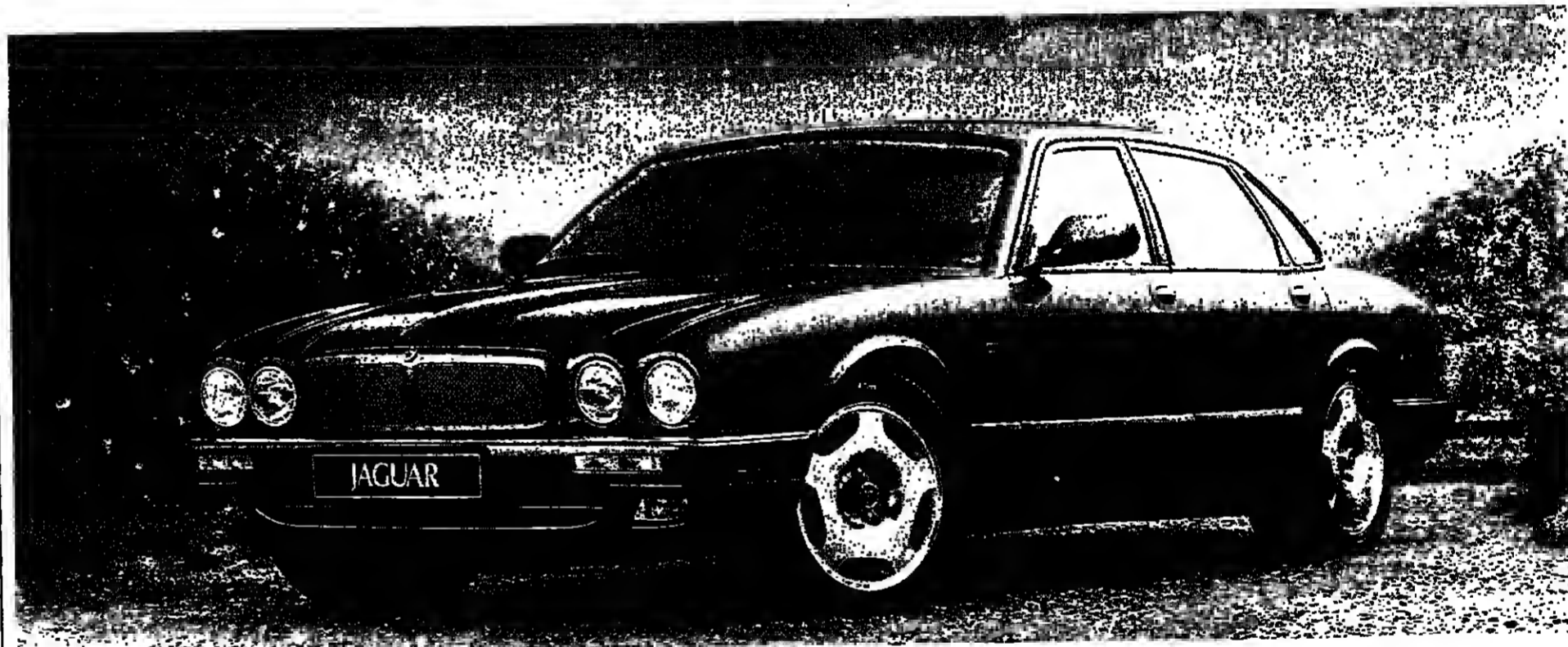
Mr Walesa has based his campaign on the deep apprehension many Poles feel about Mr Kwasniewski and his Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) party holding too much power. The SLD is already the dominant force in parliament and the government and controls many local administrations.

In addition to Solidarity, Mr Walesa has won the backing of the Catholic Church, which is terrified that a Kwasniewski presidency could lead to a curtailment of its influence.

In his first five-year term, Mr Walesa was criticised by many of his former allies for being impulsive, power-hungry and lacking the education appropriate for such high office.

Opinion polls suggest that most Poles will probably vote for Mr Walesa to keep Mr Kwasniewski out.

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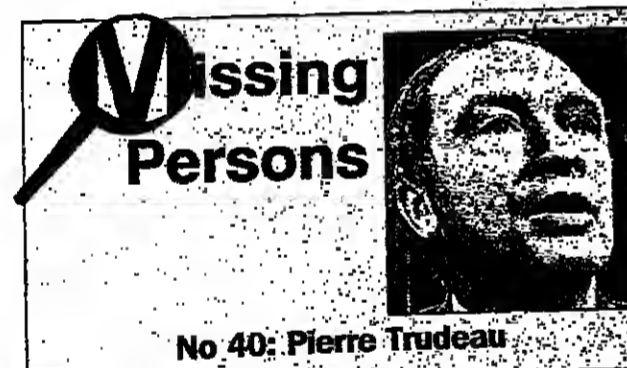
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DON'T DREAM IT. DRIVE IT.

385

Old roué whose vision of Canada was a bit blurred



No 40: Pierre Trudeau

When his dream of an integrated, plural, and non-discriminatory Canada died on referendum night at the hands of his fellow French-speaking Quebecers, Pierre Elliott Trudeau had, in effect, gone fishin'.

A politician who towered over the half-century since the Second World War, he quietly celebrated his 76th birthday last month. He was prime minister for 16 years, remains active as counsel to a large Montreal law firm, promotes international trading and investment deals, and has a book on foreign policy coming out this month. But, when it came to the referendum, Mr Trudeau announced he was getting out of town.

Liberals and former colleagues urged him to sit this one out, because his vision is now seen as anathema to many young Quebecers. Even so, his past deeds were never far from voters' minds. The Bloc Québécois leader, Lucien Bouchard, managed to rekindle old resentments about the purported "humiliation" of Quebecers in 1982. Mr Trudeau, with the support of nine provinces, but against the wishes of the separatist Quebec government of the day, had "patriated" the Canadian constitution from Westminster and introduced a Charter of Rights.

The separatists focused criticism on the past role of the present Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, as Mr Trudeau's minister of justice and one of his principal allies. But it was the former prime minister's notion of the nature of Quebec society that took more of a beating than his constitution last week.

Rather than build walls around the province to protect its language, religion and culture, Mr Trudeau said Quebecers would prosper most by playing a strong role in the by playing a bilingual civil service, and engineered the machinery of the national government to operate in both languages equally.

His successor as prime minister, Brian Mulroney, struck a deal with Quebec, and several

other provinces, in the late 1980s to implement a package of constitutional amendments. Known as the Meech Lake Accord, it would have led to the Quebec government's agreement to the 1982 constitution, and Mr Trudeau came out of retirement to oppose it.

Quebecers did not need the protection of a clause in the constitution recognising the province's distinct society and special protection for its language and culture, he argued, because they were capable of competing with other Canadians on an equal footing. His intervention catalysed opposition to the accord in English-speaking Canada, which eventually prevented ratification. When the Mulroney government made another attempt at constitution-rejigging through a national referendum in 1992, Mr Trudeau gave a speech to a group of his admirers at a Montreal Chinese restaurant called Maison du Egg Roll, and helped defeat the measures.

Mr Trudeau still commands attention whenever he speaks or travels and he continues to cut a dapper figure, often appearing at balls or theatre openings with an actress or dancer on his arm. They are invariably beautiful. He has been divorced from Margaret, the mother of his three sons, since the mid 1970s. But his reputation as a roué was enhanced when, at 72, he fathered a daughter. But Mr Trudeau and his vision have always been more popular outside Quebec than within.

So, faced with the results of last week's referendum, which showed that it was only the English Quebecers and immigrants who prevailed a separatist victory, Mr Chrétien accepted the new reality.

He will now attempt to implement a new "distinct society" clause, as well as devolving some federal powers to the provincial governments—all to meet what is perceived as Quebecers' thirst for change. And everybody is waiting to see if Mr Trudeau once again joins the fray to oppose them.

Hugh Winsor

French seek extradition of bomb suspects from UK

MARY DEJEVSKY
Paris

The French judicial authorities were yesterday preparing to request the extradition of two Algerians detained in central London on Saturday under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. They believe one of the men, Abdelkader Benouis, alias Abou Farès, commanded the terrorist cells responsible for recent bomb attacks in Paris and Lyons.

The other was said by a French radio station to be Farouk Deneche, the brother of Abdelkrim Deneche, whom the French tried unsuccessfully to have extradited from Sweden last month in connection with the St Michel Metro bombing in July. Abdelkrim Deneche was freed from custody in Stockholm last week pending deportation from Sweden as an "undesirable alien".

Scotland Yard has refused to confirm or deny the identity of

the two men held at the weekend, who are being questioned at the top-security Paddington Green police station in west London, or to give any details. French reports said the two were arrested on Saturday afternoon after several days of surveillance, as they were preparing to leave the country. Mr Benouis had been named in French media reports the previous day as the commander and possible paymaster of the Paris-based co-ordinator of the bombings. He has lived in London since being granted political asylum in 1993 and edited the British edition of an Islamic newsletter, *Al-Ansar*.

It is not known whether the British authorities knew, when they granted asylum, that he had been sentenced to death in absentia for his presumed role in the 1992 Algiers airport bombing, in which nine people were killed.

French reports say that Mr Benouis, who has had at least

three aliases, was the recipient of regular telephone calls from Paris made by Boualem Bensaid, one of 10 people detained by French police last week. The number of Mr Benouis's mobile phone is also said to have been found in notebooks belonging to Khaled Kelkal, the Algerian killed by police after a three-week manhunt in September.

Kelkal became a wanted man after his fingerprints were allegedly found on a bomb which failed to explode on the high-speed train line near Lyons in August. French sources now say that Mr Bensaid's fingerprints were found on that bomb, too, and on the remains of the bomb which exploded at Maison Blanche Metro station in Paris on the day of Kelkal's funeral. They also say that in Mr Bensaid's Paris flat police found quantities of sodium chlorate — one of the explosive agents common to the Paris and Lyons bombs — detailed maps and

timetables of the Paris and Lyons Metro and railway networks, an automatic pistol and foreign bank documents.

The identification of Mr Benouis and the "London connection" by the French media followed several weeks of criticism from French officials about what they saw as Britain's lax approach to the activities of Islamic fundamentalists.

Saturday's arrests were accordingly greeted in Paris with a mixture of "we told them so" and condescending approval that the British authorities appeared to be acting on pledges of a harder line given to President Jacques Chirac in London 10 days ago.

However, French reports also noted that the Paris investigators needed to make out a better case for the extradition of Mr Benouis than they had for the extradition of Mr Deneche from Sweden. Otherwise, they warned, they could face similar embarrassment.



Flying the flag: Chechens demonstrate on bullet-ridden Presidential Palace during a rally in Grozny. The building was badly damaged by Russian forces early this year when used as a rebel stronghold. Photograph: Reuters

IN BRIEF

Starvation looms in typhoon's wake

Manila — The Philippines appears to have gone through a "miniature war" with the passage of super-typhoon Angela, which killed more than 370 people and left some areas without food and drinking water, a senior government official said. The spectre of starvation loomed over the affected regions as village heads and rescue workers reported how winds and columns of water had swept away people, livestock, houses and ready-to-harvest crops. *Reuters*

Boost for Gramm's flagging campaign

Washington — Senator Phil Gramm gained some encouragement for his flagging Presidential campaign with a win this weekend in a straw poll of Republicans in Maine, writes Rupert Cornwell. Senator Gramm, stuck in single figures in the polls, won 602 votes, almost double his closest rival, Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana. Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader, came third, followed by Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania.

Giller wins vote of confidence

Ankara — Turkey's Prime Minister, Tansu Ciller, won a vote of confidence, bringing a pause to six weeks of political turmoil that will cause an early election next month. Parliament voted 243 to 171 for her coalition government, intended to serve until the poll. *AP*

Nobel Prize winner's nephew snatched

Guatemala City — The 22-month-old nephew of the Guatemalan Nobel Peace Prize winner, Rigoberta Menchu, was kidnapped by two unidentified gunmen who snatched the baby, Juan Carlos Velasquez Menchu, from the arms of his sister Cristina and sped off in a jeep with tinted windows. Ms Menchu said she suspected the motive was political. *Reuters*

Kashmiris want freedom, not autonomy

Srinagar — Kashmiris vowed to boycott next month's state legislative election, saying the government's promise of autonomy is inadequate and they want independence. In the rest of India, opposition politicians criticised the Prime Minister, PV Narasimha Rao, for not consulting them before making the election announcement on Saturday. *AP*

Landmine kills Tajik woman

Dushanbe — A woman was killed when a land mine exploded in a park in Tajikistan's capital. Police said it was apparently planted by radical opposition members to thwart celebrations of the anniversary of Tajikistan's new constitution. *AP*



Villagers in eastern Bicol region carry away a victim killed during flash-floods caused by Typhoon Angela.

How to become a proofreader

by Trevor Horwood

Do you envy people who love their jobs? I did too, so a few years ago I looked for a way to combine my love of books with the need to earn a living. I was a successful sales manager, so I needed something that paid well.

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A list of 101 potential clients and their addresses is also included, and my step-by-step advice will enable you to approach them with confidence and maximize your chances of success. With this manual as your guide, you too can enjoy a gratifying and rewarding freelance career in publishing. Proofreading is particularly rewarding, as is copy-editing. What's more, you will save time and money by avoiding the mistakes made by most beginners — myself included, at the time.

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Handwritten text in Arabic script: "مكتبة القاهرة"

Commonwealth Conference: Abacha will get most brickbats, but Major can expect censure for defending French nuclear tests

Angry partners put Britain in dock

STEVE CRAWSHAW

The Queen has already arrived, after travelling on a common-or-garden first-class plane ticket for the first time in her life. John Major arrives on Wednesday for talks with New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jim Bolger. Then on Friday the Main Event begins.

The Commonwealth Conference, which is being held in Auckland until next Monday, has a mixture of the good, the bad and the controversial on its agenda. First comes the historic, feel-good part. The conference - the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, known as CHOGM, to rhyme with "flog 'em" - will sound fanfares for Nelson Mandela, who is attending his first summit as South African leader.

The Commonwealth prides itself that it helped play a role in helping South Africa on the path to democracy. There is no mistaking the pride of the Commonwealth secretary-general, Chief Emeke Anyaoku, that South Africa was so quick to re-join the organisation which the apartheid government had swept out of in a huff. Mr Mandela applied for renewed South African membership only a fortnight after his inauguration as President last year.

South Africa's return to the fold is seen as a double victory marking not only the triumph of non-racial democracy but a confirmation of the importance of the Commonwealth itself. South Africa, once the ultimate pariah, looks set to become one of the most important members in the club.

What began as a post-imperial association has become a mutual-support group for democracy and development,

where Britain's role is less and less crucial. The Queen is still head of the Commonwealth, a position that she will retain; in some respects, she represents the continuity of the Commonwealth. But Britain is not the moving force that it was, nor even, perhaps, the binding glue. It is unclear whether King Charles III will be the head of the Commonwealth.

The Secretariat of the Commonwealth is still based in London. But Britain is now just one member among many (52 as of this week). These days, it is as likely to be at odds with the rest of the Commonwealth as it is to be in the mainstream.

This week Britain will spend some time in the dock. London's soft-pedalling on French nuclear testing in the Pacific is unpopular with many member states.

In Auckland, the demonstrators look set to be out in force. Even in the politeness of the conference hall, there are likely to be harsh words. The host country, New Zealand, Australia, and the Pacific island states are all indignant at France's defiance of world opinion, and Britain's perceived snuggling up to France is not appreciated.

But the main brickbats will be aimed at General Sani Abacha, Nigeria's military leader, assuming he does not decide to stay at home.

With remarkable timing, General Abacha's courts last week pronounced a death sentence on the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa. Mr Anyaoku, himself a Nigerian, did not hide his anger at the action, which triggered worldwide protests. Nigeria's trampling of human rights will figure prominently in debates this week.



Still loyal: The Queen walking past a royalist placard held by a member of 'AI's Imperial Army' in Wellington

Photograph: Nigel Marple/Reuters

Officials emphasise that the Commonwealth is not a rule-based organisation. The possibility of threatening Nigeria with expulsion is remote. Equally, however, the Harare declaration, which was signed at the Commonwealth conference of 1991, spelt out a commitment to democratic norms. The Harare declaration now serves

as a kind of Commonwealth touchstone.

The revolutions that toppled Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had the knock-on effect of weakening one-party regimes elsewhere. Africa ceased to be a proxy battleground for the Cold War, where dictators could enjoy being propped up by

Moscow or Washington as honoured representatives of "socialism" or "the free world". Now, in Mr Anyaoku's words, there are "only" three military regimes still in place: in Sierra Leone, Gambia and Nigeria. Mr Anyaoku sees one of the aims of the Commonwealth as being to help "the democratic ethic to take root".

Despite the controversies, the Commonwealth can afford to remain upbeat, not least because a queue is forming to join. South Africa's new membership may be the first in a long line. Cameroon's bid to join the Commonwealth was approved last week. Mozambique's ties with the Commonwealth are closer than before, and there are

reports that the former Portuguese colony might join.

Mr Anyaoku says the Commonwealth can still expand, though its "special qualities" must remain. Certainly, the Commonwealth need have no fear of being declared redundant, not while its members still see it as an anchor of stability in an unstable world.

Pressure for arms ban on Nigeria

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY
Defence Correspondent

As Nigeria's human-rights record tops the bill at the Commonwealth conference in Auckland, pressure is growing for a complete embargo on European arms exports to the country. Britain and the EU have condemned the military dictatorship of General Sani Abacha, who took power in 1993, but have continued to license arms exports.

On 29 September the European Commission in charge of African affairs said the Commission was concerned that "existing measures may not be applied with sufficient rigour and therefore has recently proposed that the December 1993 measures be incorporated into a legally binding common position on Nigeria".

On 12 October the European Parliament called for "the ending of arms sales to Nigeria in order to increase pressure on the Nigerian regime to restore the democratic process". Peter Truscott, vice-president of the European Parliament's security and development committee, and the World Development Movement, a London-based pressure group, had demanded the embargo. In a report published today, the WDM presents evidence that Britain and other European governments have continued to export arms in contravention to European criteria, which state that "the respect of human rights in the final country of destination" must be considered in arms exports.

In 1993 the European Council of Ministers decided to consider arms sales to Nigeria on a case-by-case basis, but many have got through.

The report points out that European states are still allowed to sell arms to the Nigerian police, which has suppressed 4 pro-democracy demonstrations. In June the Government issued licences for CS gas and rubber bullets to be exported. Last year the Government issued 30 licences for non-lethal equipment, which could include components for tanks and missiles. About 20 licences were granted for goods on the "Military List", including machine-guns, bombs, missiles and mines.

In the last two years, France has sold Nigeria armoured reconnaissance vehicles and Austria has sold 300 armoured troop carriers. Nigeria has received military trucks from Germany, artillery from Italy and howitzers from Sweden. Non-EU countries have also sold arms. Mr Truscott said: "We must exert maximum pressure to secure a total ban on arms sales to the regime, which is flouting human rights on a massive scale."

Third World fears future without Lomé

Port Louis, Mauritius — When the European Commission discovered that about 30 of its civil servants were due to travel to Mauritius for Saturday's signing of a new European Union trade and aid pact with 70 of the world's poorest countries, it ordered an inquiry.

Asked why it was essential for them to make the trip, most said they believed it was important to show solidarity with the developing world.

Just as this explanation failed to convince the higher-ups in the Commission — only seven officials made the trip — Europe is failing to convince its former colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) that it is committed to solidarity with their struggle against poverty.

The Lomé Convention was renewed for five years on Saturday amid fears that with Europe's changing strategic interests, the special relationship will not survive beyond 2000.

Designed originally as a life-support mechanism for the for-

mer colonies of Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal, the agreement offers more than £12bn in aid over the next five years. More importantly, it provides better trade terms than those offered to other Third World exporters in Asia or Latin America.

However, as guilt for the colonial past subsides and the EU's preoccupation with its commitments in Central and Eastern Europe increases, the developing countries fear they could be facing a future without Lomé.

Revising the pact took 15 months; the negotiations were overshadowed by a bitter squabble among EU countries over the size of their contributions to the aid budget. Britain wanted to slash its donation by 30 per cent.

The new aid deal, agreed only after Germany secured

backing for a multi-billion-pound cash package for Eastern Europe, offers the ACP states no increase in real terms on the previous agreement.

To compensate, EU officials insist that new trade provisions will make it easier for ACP exports to penetrate European markets. But products which should pose a competitive threat, such as olives, lemons and wine, are still subject to high tariffs. "We talk about opening markets, but as soon as it comes to anything sensitive, forget it," one EU diplomat admitted.

Sectors such as textiles, where Mauritius might pose the faintest threat to EU garment-makers, are excluded from other trade concessions in the new agreement. Yet the island nation, which exports hundreds of thousands of tons of textiles and sugar to Europe each year, believes that trade is



Juganath: Ex-imperialists are rapidly losing their interest

more important than aid to all but the poorest countries.

The Mauritius Prime Minister, Anerood Juganath, says the bruising round of negotiations was an eye-opener. The end of the Cold War and the loss of any strategic stake in Africa, he said, explains Europe's "fast fading" interest in the relationship. "We are witnessing a growing movement towards the marginalisation of the South as the focus of the European Union's geo-

political interests seems to be increasingly directed towards other regions of the world."

The British Government says its priority is to maintain bilateral relationships in the developing world rather than bolster a Brussels-managed agreement which is inefficient, badly administered and unworkable.

Brussels officials, too, are prepared to concede that Lomé as a development instrument is running out of steam and that thoughts should be turning to a new model.

Changes in world-trade rules will ultimately render the agreement's trade preferences illegal. The Lomé Convention enjoys a waiver from the rules of Gatt but beyond the year 2000 that may not be renewed by the World Trade Organisation. "Geopolitically and economically so many things have changed," said Jose de Deus Pinheiro, EU commissioner for relations with the ACP. "We must look at the convention with new glasses."

Karadzic praises US role in Bosnia talks

Belgrade (Reuters) — The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, said he believed Yugoslav peace talks in Dayton, Ohio would succeed, and welcomed the active role played by the United States.

In unusually conciliatory remarks made on Serbian radio, Mr Karadzic said the US-brokered conference should result in "the final establishment of peace in Bosnia". The Dayton negotiations were important because "they were initiated by the American side, which for the first time accepted and recognised the existence of the Serbian entity in Bosnia and the fact that Bosnia cannot survive as a unitary state".

Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic, is negotiating on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs, who lost large slices of territory to a Bosnian-Croatian offensive this summer. The US talks, said Mr Karadzic, should involve the return of part of this territory.

Mr Milosevic, the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic, and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia are studying a series of documents that international mediators hope will form the basis of a peace accord.

Mr Karadzic said previous peace conferences on ex-Yugoslavia had failed because they lacked US support. Asked why he had not gone to Dayton himself, he said, "It was not important who took part... We all think the same". Mr Karadzic has been indicted for war crimes by the international tribunal at the Hague and is liable to arrest if he leaves the country.

Yesterday mediators were to hold more talks with rebel Serbs in Croatia's Eastern Slavonia region. A first effort by the US ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, and the UN envoy, Thorvald Stoltenberg, to get the Serb and Croat sides together fell apart on Saturday when the Serb side failed to turn up.

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To enter our draw you must collect five differently numbered tokens from the seven we are publishing this week in the Independent on Sunday and the Independent. One token must come from the Independent on Sunday. Today we publish Token 2, an entry form will appear on Saturday 11 November.

INDEPENDENT

TOKEN 2



LIBERTY

S obituaries / gazette

Yitzhak Rabin



A life in step with the struggle for, and establishment, of a Jewish state in the biblical homeland: Rabin with President Bill Clinton and the PLO leader Yasser Arafat after signing the peace accord, at the White House, 1993; and addressing the Knesset in 1992

Yitzhak Rabin was the least predictable of peacemakers, an old soldier with an instinctive distrust of the kind of bright young intellectuals who contrived the Oslo breakthrough with the Palestine Liberation Organisation. He visibly cringed when President Bill Clinton coaxed him to shake hands with Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn in September 1993.

As Prime Minister of Israel for the first time from 1974 to 1977, Rabin could hardly steel himself to utter the word "Palestinian". He and his Defence Minister in that administration, Shimon Peres, connived, however reluctantly, at the establishment of the first Jewish settlements planted among Arab towns and villages on the spine of Palestine. As Defence Minister in the 1984-90 national-unit Government, Rabin ordered his troops to break the Intifada uprising "with might, power and healings".

Yet on the night of his death at the hands of a lone Israeli gunman, Rabin was singing "Shir Hashalom", the Hebrew hymn of peace, with 100,000 supporters of Peace Now. It was, Peres said afterwards, probably the first time in his life that the croaky-voiced Rabin had sung in public.

His farewell message had a ring of Martin Luther King's "I have a dream". His Government, he said, had decided to give peace a chance. "I was a military man for 27 years. I waged war as long as there was

no chance for peace. I believe there is now a chance for peace, a great chance, and we must make the most of it."

What wrought the transformation was the realisation that Israel could not batter the children and mothers of the Intifada into submission, without compromising its own humanity and alienating the civilised world with which Israel identified itself.

As early as the 1988 election campaign, Rabin and Peres argued that Israel could not go on ruling a large and hostile Arab minority if it wanted to remain a Jewish and a democratic state. The only alternative was separation, a line on the ground with Israelis on one side and Palestinians on the other (though to the last Rabin refused to acknowledge that his policy might spawn a Palestinian state).

The 1988 electoral stalemate denied the two Labour leaders an opportunity to put "territory for peace" to the test. But after their narrow victory in June 1992, Peres, as Foreign Minister under Rabin, convinced himself and his chief of staff that he was ready for a symmetrical compromise. Isolated and impoverished by the historic miscalculation of siding with Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Gulf war, the leader of the PLO had become a partner for peace.

It was Peres, always the more imaginative and restless of the two, who selected and backed the freelance diplomats for the Oslo back channel. But without

Rabin, checking every detail, reining in their enthusiasm, a deal would never have gelled. And without Rabin, elected on a platform of "peace with security", the Israeli public would not have acquiesced.

Despite their history of bitter personal rivalry, Rabin and Peres were an extraordinary team. In their seventies, they recognised that a solution to a century-old conflict between Jew and Arab was attainable. This was their own last chance, and they were not going to let mutual recrimination get in the way. Nor would they be deflected by the enemies of peace, Arab or Jewish. After every Islamic suicide bombing, a grim

faced Rabin announced to the television cameras that the negotiations would continue. Echoing a celebrated phrase of Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, he said he would "fight the terrorists as if there were no peace process, and fight for peace as if there were no terrorism".

Rabin was equally stubborn in defying a campaign of unprecedented vilification by the Israeli right and its paymasters abroad. They branded him a "traitor" and an alcoholic, portrayed him in Nazi uniform or Arafat keffiyeh head-dress. To their enduring shame, leaders of the parliamentary opposition were slow to disown these ex-

cesses. Even when his Knesset majority was reduced last month to a single mercenary MP Rabin bulldozed on. "A majority of one is still a majority," he insisted.

Foreign critics accused Rabin of dictating a humiliating peace to a vulnerable Arafat. But for most Israelis, Israel too was paying a price - not just in territory, but in personal security. By finely calculating when to accelerate the peace process and when to slow it down (by, for instance, closing the old Green Line border to workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip), Rabin stopped the pragmatic centre of Israeli public opinion from joining the settler ideologues at the barricades.

His tenacity won Israel a peace treaty with Jordan to match that Menachem Begin signed with Egypt in 1979. It banished the kind of isolation that had dogged Israel in international forums for 47 years. Israeli commentators were quick to notice that when Rabin addressed the jubilee General Assembly of the United Nations last month, no Arab or Third World delegation walked out (the Syrians and the Libyans were not there to start with).

Yitzhak Rabin was born in Jerusalem in 1922. His life and career marched step-by-step with the struggle for, and consolidation of, a Jewish state in the biblical homeland. His father, Nehemiah, a working-class Ukrainian Jew who had emigrated to the United States, arrived in Palestine in 1918 as a

volunteer for the Jewish Legion, fighting to help the allies oust Turkey from the Levant. His Russian-born mother, Rosa, the daughter of an Orthodox rabbi, immigrated with a Zionist uncle.

In the best pioneering tradition, Rabin studied at an agricultural school, then joined the Palmach, the elite professionals of the Hagannah Jewish defence force, in the struggle for independence. During the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, he commanded a battalion that kept open the lifeline between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

He made a career in the army, reaching his peak as chief of the general staff in Israel's resoundingly victorious Six-Day War in 1967. Rabin collapsed with nervous exhaustion (excused at the time as nicotine poisoning) on the eve of war, but after two days' rest he returned to his post. Moshe Dayan, the flamboyant Defence Minister, seized the international limelight, but the more taciturn Rabin was credited with the planning and control that expanded Israel's borders to the Suez Canal, the Jordan river and the Golan Heights.

After retiring from the military at the end of 1967, Rabin was appointed ambassador to Washington. He scorned the frivolities of the cocktail circuit, but established a highly productive working relationship with the Nixon Administration. Rabin returned to Israel in 1973 and ran for election on the

Labour ticket in the elections of December that year. Israelis welcomed him as a leader with a record of success, a man who was untainted by the almost disastrous errors that exposed Israel to invasion in the Yom Kippur War. In April 1974, he defeated Shimon Peres in their first contest for the party leadership, after Golda Meir had stepped down.

Despite his initial popularity, Rabin had a disappointing first term as Prime Minister. He had difficulty adjusting to the demands of political life. He found the Knesset, Israel's parliament, a bore and showed it. He lacked the patience to cultivate party allies. He failed to stem a flood of corruption scandals that started under previous leaders, but fed escalating disenchantment with his party, which had ruled since independence.

On the eve of the 1977 general election, Rabin was forced to resign after an Israeli correspondent in Washington unearthed an illegal foreign currency account in the name of Rabin's wife, Leah, who survives him with their two children. Labour lost to Menachem Begin's Likud, which prompted a West Bank settlement boom designed to prevent a repatriation. The present Government is finally trying to unravel this.

But Rabin stayed in politics and the Knesset, a restless subordinate to Shimon Peres, whom he accused in an autobiography, *The Rabin Memoirs*

(1979), of undermining him when he was Prime Minister. None the less, the pair remained locked together in Siamese twins through three successful attempts to resign power.

In 1992, the party coaxed that Peres could never work, but by a dizzying precarious margin. The peace process - and the Nobel Prize that it brought to Rabin, Arafat and Peres - was the probable outcome. In the end of the Palmach and the last Defence Forces, Rabin moved on leading from the front. In a Tel Aviv square on Saturday night, he paid for it with his life.

Eric Siny
Yitzhak Rabin, army officer, politician; born Jerusalem, March 1922; Commander, Palmach Brigade 1943-44; Commander-in-Chief, Northern Command, Israeli Defence Forces 1956-59; Head of the Power Branch 1959-60; Deputy Chief of Staff and Head of the General Staff Branch 1960-61; Chief of Staff 1964-68; Israeli Ambassador to the United States 1968-73; Chairman of Labour Party 1974-77; Member of Knesset 1974-95; Minister of Education 1974-77; Minister of Defence 1974-90; Prime Minister and Minister of Defence 1992-95; married 1948 Leah Schlossberg (one son, one daughter); died Tel Aviv 4 November 1995.



Rabin is mobbed by supporters after victory in the Six Day War, 1967

Marti Caine

Fame was not the initial spur for Marti Caine. An unpaid bill of £150 - her mother's funeral expenses - was what pushed the 19-year-old Lynne Stringer (as she was then called) into auditioning for Ernest "Honest" Johns at the Chapelclub Working Men's Club outside Sheffield.

Up until then, she was just another starchy-eyed wannabe, already married with two babies, an ex-beauty queen, stuck on a council estate, with little hope of fulfilling any dreams for a better life. Her mother had a sad history of alcoholism and drug abuse since losing her husband, Lynne's father, from cancer.

It was a Jekyll and Hyde childhood of oppressive coarseness one minute, covert sexual abuse (by her paternal grandfather) the next. Small wonder she boiled at 17, marrying the butcher's boy, also 17.

That fateful audition, prompted by debt, fuelled by brandy, consisted of two songs, "Puppet on a String" and "Summertime", intended to demonstrate her versatility. Her voice was trembling so much, Marti Caine later recalled, that she sounded like Edith Piaf with Parkinson's disease.

Professionally she wasn't Marti Caine then, or even Lynne Stringer. She was Sunny Smith for all of three weeks, followed by a spell as Zoe Bond. Unhappy with both, she scoured a gardening hook for inspiration. Her husband Malcolm Stringer tinkered with tomato cane and came up with Marti Cane. The club she was playing misheard and billed her as Marti Caine.

Singing, she soon realised, came a lot less naturally to her than being funny. Glamorous young women in figure-hugging

mini-dresses did not do stand-up comedy in working men's clubs in the 1960s and Caine's novelty value served her well. She walked a tightrope between challenging the male ego, not always the easiest option amid a sea of beer-swilling chauvinists, and affirming pre-conceptions. She developed a talent for dispatching hecklers with withering one-liners.

By the 1970s she had acquired an agent, John Peller, who persuaded her in 1974 to enter TTV's talent show *New Faces*. To her astonishment, she emerged the winner a year later, beating Lenny Henry and Victoria Wood.

There followed 10 years of high-profile, top-rating television stardom, international cabaret work and the title role in Fanny Brice in *Funny Girl* at the Crucible, Sheffield, her hometown. She described the

director, Clare Venables, as her Svengali. In partnership with her former agent John Peller and the entrepreneur Sharon Somerset, she also established five health clubs in the north of England. They were her insurance policy if show business ever gave her up.

Her second marriage, to the theatre director Kenneth Ives in 1984, took her into classic realms. A friend of his, the agent Laurence Evans, who succeeded Peller, put Caine in the same brick-dropping league as another client of his, Sir John Gielgud. Famous among these party *fauces pas* was Caine's asking Peter Hall what he did for a living, and on being introduced to a frail yet feisty old man, inquiring of him "Larry who?" only to be told, rather sharply, "Olivier, dear".

The years of popular acclaim and serious money were not

enough to eradicate her inner doubt and insecurity. Like anyone who re-invents themselves, she had no way of escaping the person she once was. She still saw herself as an ugly girl with long legs and a nose job. Marti was loud, bawdy and egotistical, she told one journalist, while Lynne had no ego and enjoyed doing the housework.

Professionally her aim was always to look drop-dead glamorous whatever discomfort she might have to suffer in the process. She counted dressmakers, hairdressers and beauticians among her closest friends.

Nothing became Marti Caine's life like the leaving of it. Notice was served as long ago as 1988 that her days were numbered. The long and painful fight for survival was charted eagerly by the tabloids, Caine seldom refusing an in-

terview and, when interviewed, never ducking a question.

A book she wrote in 1990, *A Coward's Chronicle*, was a revelation, inter-weaving poignant snapshots of autobiography with a sometimes hilarious account of her treatment. Not everyone under sentence of death wants to know every medical detail. Caine demanded the truth at every turn. By knowing everything, she said, she left better fitted to use her mind to influence her body.

That she had written so honest and accomplished a book possibly came as no surprise to Marti Caine's intimates, but it revealed a hitherto unseen facet to the viewing masses. For once the publisher's blurb was true: hers was indeed a rare talent. She called it *A Coward's Chronicle* to counteract the tabloid image of her as this paragon of

courage and defiance. You fight for dear life, she said, because you are too cowardly to embrace death. She maintained a punishing work schedule up to a few weeks ago when a relapse forced her to pull out of a Christmas pantomime commitment in Basingstoke, playing the Red Queen in *Snow White*.

Only her nearest and dearest knew how Lynne coped with it all, but the people's view of Marti Caine's last exit was that she conducted herself with dignity, humility and good humour. A coward she wasn't.

Nick Smartwattle
Lynne Denise Shepherd (Marti Caine), entertainer; born Sheffield 26 January 1945; married 1962 Malcolm Stringer (two sons; marriage dissolved 1979); 1984 Kenneth Ives; died Henley-on-Thames 4 November 1995.



Caine: demanded the truth

Births, Marriages & Deaths

DEATHS

THOMAS: On 31 October 1995, lord-worth Lewis, late of Bangalore, husband of Jean, father of Antony, Hume and Brown. Beloved of all who knew him. Thanking service, Thursday 9 November at 3pm at St Mary's Church, Bucknell, South Shropshire. Family flowers only.

Announcements for BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS: Births, Adoptions, Marriages, Deaths, Memorial services, Wedding anniversaries, In Memoriam should be sent in writing to the Gazette Editor, The Independent, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL, telephoned on 0171-393 2811 or faxed on 0171-393 2810, and are charged at £6.50 a line (VAT extra). OTHER announcements must be submitted in writing and are charged at £10 a line, VAT extra. They should be accompanied by a telephone number.

Birthdays

Lord Avoiside, former Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland, 81; Dr James Barber, Master, Hatfield College, Durham, 64; Professor Lord Bauer, economist, 80; Mr James Bowman, operatic counter-tenor, 54; Mr Frank Carson, comedian, 69; Mr Nigel Havens, actor, 66; Mr Bernard Klein, designer, former chairman of Benetton Ltd, 73; Mr Leonard Miall, broadcasting historian, 81; Mr David Montgomery, chief executive, Mirror Group Newspapers, 47; Admiral Sir Anthony Morton, King of Arms, Order of the British Empire, 72; Mr David Moss, High Commissioner to Malaysia, 57; Mr Mike Nichols, film and theatre director, 64; Mr P.J. Proby, rock singer, 57; Lt-Gen Sir David Ramsbottom, former Adjutant General, 61; Professor Sir Martin Roth, psychiatrist, 78; Mr Ron Saunders, football manager, 63; Sir Oliver Scott Bt, radiobiologist, 73; Maj-Gen James Scott Elliott, former Lieutenant of the County of Dumfries, 93; Sir George Sinclair, former MP, 83; Mr Malcolm Thayne, Headmaster, Fettes College, 53.

Anniversaries

Birches: Colley Clibber, actor and playwright, 1671; Adolphe (Antoine-Joseph) Sax, inventor of the saxophone, 1814. Deaths: John Murray (McMurray), publisher, 1933; Peter Dwyer, Tchaikovsky, composer, 1993. On this day, Abraham Lincoln was elected as 16th US president, 1860.

ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS

The Princess of Wales, Kate, will be the 1995 High Life Award Winner at the London Hilton, London W1. Princess Margaret attends a reception and luncheon for the 125th birthday year at Glasgow 11th, Stranmillis, Newcastle upon Tyne. The Duke of Gloucester opens an exhibition by Ursula Aron at Cook Street Gallery, London W1. The Duchess of Kent, Patron, Cancer Relief Musician Fund, attends the Christmas Market Preview, Royal Horticultural Hall, London SW1. Princess Alexandra attends the Annual Gala Evening of the Astorian Association of the Royal Academy Trust in the Rambert Rooms, Royal Albert Hall, London W1.

Changing of the Guard
The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mount the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 11am. Let British and Scots Guards receive the Queen's Guard at Buckingham Palace, 1.30pm. Total provided in the Grenadier Guard.

The following notes of judgments were prepared by the reporters of the All England Law Reports.

Compensation order

Garage v DPP; QBD (DC) (Rose LJ, Wright J); 16 Oct 1995
A compensation order made in favour of two individuals and 12 hotels for £2,428.05 to be paid at the rate of £5 per week in respect of offences of deception was excessive. A compensation order stretching over nine and a half years was not one at which a reasonable court could arrive since there was no certainty that the companies in whose favour the compensation order had been made would still be trading at the end of the period, and the administrative burden of distributing the weekly amount between so many claimants made the order wrong in principle.

Nigel J Dooley (Turners, Bournemouth) for the applicant.

Evidence

R v Gifford; CA (Crim Div) (Beldam LJ, Scott Baker, Hilden JJ); 20 Oct 1995
The Court of Appeal has power under s 23(1) of the Criminal Appeal Act 1968 not only to receive admissible evidence which would afford a ground for allowing an appeal, but has a wider discretion if it thinks it necessary or expedient in the interests of justice to order any witness to attend for examination and to be examined before the court, whether or not he testified at the trial. Section 23 confers on the court a discretion confined only by the require-

CASE SUMMARIES

6 November 1995

Kingston-upon-Thames Royal Borough Council v Marlow; QBD (DC) (Simon Brown LJ, Scott Baker J); 23 Oct 1995

A tenant was not liable for non-domestic rates where he had relinquished possession of office premises in response to forfeiture proceedings issued by the landlord. Although service of proceedings for forfeiture did not determine the lease, the vacating of premises by a tenant upon termination of the lease, whereupon the landlord would become liable for rates.

Brian Langstaff QC and Anthony Bradley (Council Solicitors) for the council; Graham Clarke (Marlow, Kingston-upon-Thames) for the defendant.

Rates

Metliah (Inspector of Taxes) v BML and conjuncted appeals; HL (Lord Goff of Chieveley, Lord Browne-Wilkinson, Lord Slynn of

Hadley, Lord Nicholls of Birkenhead and Lord Slynn; 12 Oct 1995)
Chattel's fixed to and becoming part of the land of the lessee were not capable of being tax-exempt. A similar claim relating to chattels not fixed to the land would be allowed; and no distinction was to be made if the chattel was a fixture. The Finance Act 1971, s 44(1) is now the Capital Allowances Act 1990, s 24(1) and the Finance Act 1985, Sch 17, para 3 is now the Capital Allowances Act 1990, s 53(1).

James Hanbury QC and Timothy Brennan (Inland Revenue Solicitors) for the Crown; Graham Armstrong QC, Paul Morgan QC and Stephen Jordan (Denton Hall) for the taxpayers.

Correction:

In R v Secretary of State for the Home Department, ex p O'Duibhir (Independent, 24 October 1995), Diarmid Rose also appeared for the Home Secretary.

special report

As MPs debate Nolan today, lobbyists are rushing to recruit Labour's brightest brains, say **Chris Blackhurst and Nicholas Timmins**

Everybody wants to know Tony Blair

Plenty will be said in the House of Commons about the lobbying industry later today. As MPs debate Nolan and the disclosure of their outside earnings, Labour backbenchers will not resist having a go at Tories' links with the likes of Ian Greer, GJW, Westminster Strategy, Westminster Communications and the other specialist parliamentary consultancies.

For many Labour MPs, lobbying is a dirty word. That, at least, is the public face. In truth, the party and the lobbyists are moving closer and closer together as the election nears. Whereas once Labour would have been ignored, now lobbyists bang on to the party's every word.

The annual conference this year in Brighton was swash with representatives from all the leading lobbying firms. Lowe Bell, home of Sir Tim Bell, once Margaret Thatcher's image-maker, broke with years of tradition and even held a reception there: some of the biggest names in business, such as Lloyd's of London, NatWest and Littlewoods, were happy to sponsor events on the Labour fringe. Midland Bank sponsored a crèche, while Sainsbury's and British Airways held receptions.

MPs, particularly post-Nolan, may be sensitive about linking up with lobbyists, but many party workers and researchers have no such qualms. They see lobbying and everything that it entails as a new career opportunity, seeking out jobs doing everything from monitoring events at Westminster and Brussels to briefing clients on forthcoming legislation and effecting introductions with ministers and officials. Prior to the 1992 election there were only two or three lobbyists who had recently worked for Labour – most notably Mike Craven, now managing director of Market Access, who had worked in John Prescott's office, and Tony Page at GJW, who had worked for John Cunningham. Labour's defeat in 1992 brought no rush to snap up ex-Kinlock advisers. Neil Stewart, who with Charles Clarke was one of Kinlock's key fixers, says the atmosphere was "distinctly hostile". He applied for jobs for which he believes he was plainly qualified and found himself without even an interview.

The change began with John Smith's CBI speech in September 1992 which began the rapprochement with business that the Kinlock era over really achieved.

Mike Lee, a well respected adviser to David Blunkett for almost five years, and Julian Eccles, a key cam-

paign co-ordinator in Walworth Road, moved across in 1993 to Westminster Strategy and Hill and Knowlton, respectively, two of the key players.

Meanwhile, outside the world of lobbying, the management consultants Booz Allen & Hamilton took on Wendy Alexander, one of Labour's brightest researchers in Scotland, with Andersen Consulting making the most dramatic capture by employing Patricia Hewitt, a key figure from the Kinlock era, who went to the company from the IPPR, the left-of-centre think-tank set up to help Labour break the mould of outdated policies. Margaret Hodge worked briefly for Price Waterhouse after she ceased to be leader of Islington council and before she became an MP.

The interest of management consultants in people with an inside knowledge of Labour has been followed over the past 18 months by the trickle of researchers and other Labour Party staff moving to lobbying firms turning almost into a torrent, though the quality of the people now employed by more than a dozen lobbying firms varies enormously.

For Labour workers, many of whom have existed for years on a relative pittance, the chance to earn a decent salary is difficult to resist. For many of them, as well, there is the realisation that come the election their chances of remaining near the action are diminishing. For as soon as the election is over, assuming that Labour wins, civil servants will then move in and only a handful of very senior people will be made special advisers in the new government.

"Some of the lobbying firms have bought themselves a pretty hum deal," one close observer of the scene said. "Recruiting former researchers to some of Labour's more obscure frontbenchers or MPs is hardly going to give their clients Gordon Brown's ear, however much it might make it appear that they have good Labour contacts."

Some, however, have been significant recruits for the lobbyists – notably Neal Lawson at Lowe Bell, who previously worked for Gordon Brown, Colin Byrne at Shandwick, who was Peter Mandelson's key lieutenant in the campaigns and communications department of Walworth Road, and David Gardner, at the Public Policy Unit, architect of the highly successful outcome Labour achieved from the Boundary Commission review.

Other notable names who have gone into lobbying are Rex Osborn, political intelligence officer at Wal-

Who's who on the lobby circuit

Lobby group	Ex-Labour employee	... worked for:
Market Access	Mike Craven Jan Kennedy Amanda Francis	John Prescott George Foulkes, Labour frontbencher Mo Mowlam
Westminster Strategy	Mike Lee	David Blunkett
Strategy	Rex Osborn	was chief political intelligence officer, Walworth Road, Labour headquarters
Shandwick	Colin Byrne	Labour chief press officer and deputy to Peter Mandelson, when he was campaigns and communications director
Westminster Communications	Murray Elder	John Smith
Lowe Bell	Neal Lawson Tim Fallon	Gordon Brown Joan Walley, former transport spokesperson
GJW	Tony Page David Wilson Elizabeth Davies Stephanie Ayres	Jack Cunningham Jack Cunningham David Blunkett Andrew Faulds, backbencher
Ian Greer	Robbie MacDuff	Allan Roberts, former environment spokesman
Public Policy Unit	David Gardner Paul Wheeler	Labour local government and boundary commission specialist Election co-ordinator, Walworth Road
Connect	Gill Morris	Oonagh MacDonald, former frontbencher
GPC	Anne Norris	Walworth Road
Burston Marsteller	Philip Cole	Assistant London regional organiser
Hill and Knowlton	Julian Eccles	Campaign co-ordinator and assistant to party general secretary, Walworth Road
Granfield	Phil Kelly	Ex-editor of <i>Tribune</i> and former adviser to Michael Meacher
APCO	Stephen King	Labour agriculture researcher
Waterfront Partnership	Michael MacDonald	Policy unit, Walworth Road
Politics International	Jeanette Gould	Kevin Barron and John Smith

worth Road. Paul Wheeler, from Labour's election team, and Murray Elder, who was John Smith's chief of staff.

Mike Craven, of Market Access, says the growth is entirely market-driven. "Business now thinks Labour may well form the next government. They want to know Labour's views, they want to know the personalities, and they want to know how a Labour government may affect their business."

It is sound business sense – and the level of interest is far higher than before the last election. Charles Miller, of Public Policy Unit, sums up the mood: "Everyone in town wants an assessment of Labour policy and its implications. Before the 1992 election, even when Labour was leading in the polls, it was very hard to interest business in Labour. Now they want to know what Labour is going to do to us, what it will cost us, what we should be thinking about. They are far better pre-

pared for a Labour government than they ever were in 1992."

Business, said Mr Miller, no longer wants "to throttle Labour, but understand Labour." Lobbyists' wooing of the party, said Mr Miller, "has been pretty feverish for about a year. People we work for are realising it is better to work with a policy in gestation than to wait until it has gone through."

Lobbying consultancies are keener to get their political spread more balanced between left and right. "No one wants to be left holding the wrong baby," said Mr Miller. Colin Byrne argues that what has been acquired from the more able recruits is not only Labour contacts, but also wider skills. "Where could you learn more about launches, crisis management and communication than working alongside Peter Mandelson in the Labour Party?" he says. "I occasionally say to clients: 'You think you've got problems; you should

have seen Labour in the period after the 1983 election!'"

There is little sign, however, that the increase in lobbying in Labour's direction is resulting in Labour MPs taking or being offered paid consultancies. Mike Craven believes they will not take them. "It is culturally frowned on, anyway, in the Labour Party," he says. "One or two have done it in the past. But it has never been regarded as the right thing to do, and at the moment it is going the other way, with Labour trying to redefine its relationship with the unions so that they sponsor the local party, not the individual MP."

In the post-Nolan atmosphere – with Shandwick, for example, deciding to part with David Mellor, its only paid parliamentary adviser – recruitment of Labour MPs is even less likely. "If a company offers a nice salary consultancy to a backbencher, the press get on to it, then the company suffers as well as the MP," claims one public affairs consultant.

Labour talks to business

Labour's contacts with business and industry, and their desire to hear and influence Labour policy, are more extensive than ever before.

At the immediate policy level, Labour has consulted much more widely than in the past before formulating policy. The information superhighway document produced by Chris Smith, for example, followed a "policy forum" in which Labour frontbenchers took evidence from companies, almost in the style of a Commons select committee, from British Telecom and Mercury to the cable operators and others.

Frontbenchers regularly meet business leaders through the Industry Forum – an arm's-length body set up in 1993 in Robin Cook's day as trade and industry spokesman. It has regular meetings across sectors – pharmaceuticals or telecoms, for example – and across issues, such as small business or competition policy.

About 150 companies and trade associations contribute between £500 and £1,000, either as active members or more passive subscribers, to an information service. Some 30 are happy to be named, including Thorn/EMI, BAA, ICL, Merck, Sharpe & Dolme and Tesco, and they include past Tory party contributors such as McAlpine.

Others, however, do not want their names released. "Some are still very sensitive about it, and I think that's a pretty awful reflection on the current government," says Gerald Frankel, the businessman

who chairs the forum. "It doesn't like people talking to the opposition party." With potential government contracts at stake, "some are very nervous about it being known that they are having a dialogue with the Opposition. This is a very unhealthy development that I've watched take place in the past 10 years or so."

Executive, however, have attended in steadily increasing numbers the business seminars that the Fabian Society has run with Labour frontbenchers; while Neil Stewart, a former Kinlock aide, has specialised in heavily subsidised conferences for business and the public sector, which attract executives to hear and attempt to influence Labour's view of the world.

Last week the business breakfast that Gordon Brown held at the Institute for Public Policy Research drew an audience that included the chairman, chief executive or managing director from a string of blue chip companies, including Pearson, Reckitt & Colman, the Financial, Leman Brothers, Lucas, Unilever and IBM.

The IPPR itself has seen its corporate sponsorship rise sharply over the past year, with companies from the telecoms industry, the media, banking, the pharmaceutical industry and other sectors sponsoring its work directly or contributing to its core funding.

Stands for next year's party conference are already sold out, after a year which saw the highest proportion ever taken by corporate clients.

... and business talks back

Robin Gray, from the Public Policy Unit, one of the leading lobbying firms, did not beat about the bush when he spoke at a private conference last month. Shadow frontbench spokesmen were already "run ragged" by invitations from lobbyists and their clients. Their diaries were virtually full. But if the audience of representatives from some of Britain's biggest companies, including British Aerospace and Cable & Wireless, wanted to get their messages across before the next election, now was the time to write.

In the office of Margaret Beckett, Labour's new trade and industry spokesperson, they were talking about "She has a tray-full of invitations," said one of her staff, adding that it was growing daily, as companies wanted to talk to her about Labour's

forthcoming trade and industry policy document.

Michael Meacher's office is similarly bombarded. "Because industry thinks Labour is set to win, it is pressing hard to lobby shadow ministers," said Mr Meacher's assistant. "If I write to 25 organisations, I will receive phone calls the following day from 23," said Mr Meacher's aide. "That would not have happened a few years ago."

Likewise, if a Shadow spokesperson makes a speech, he or she can expect to have requests for copies almost immediately from three or four lobbying organisations. Again, that was not the case in the run up to the 1992 election.

Where once there was silence, now there is two-way dialogue. As the prospect of government looms, Labour and lobbying are not such dirty words after all.

Diary

RUTH DUDLEY EDWARDS



I was somewhat aggrieved, at first, to read that Keith Waterhouse and his pals had decided to keep the re-launch dinner of The Useless Information Society stag – on the grounds that women have no use for facts that are of not the slightest value to anybody.

"Damn it," I cried. "Am I not a woman? And do I not know in chronological order the names of all Elizabeth Taylor's husbands?" But then I realised that Miss Taylor might find that litany useful should she write her autobiography, so it didn't qualify.

In bed that night I tried and tried to think of a piece of wholly useless information and fell asleep from sheer boredom. So fair enough. Keith. You may be right. I, at least, will not be leading a protest march or complaining to the Equal Opportunities Commission.

I squirmed a bit at a gentle rebuke from Vanessa Stern of Chichester and Bognor Regis Victim Support about my remarks last week re the help offered me over my burglary. She points out that such groups do not counsel, but give practical advice to people in need.

Of course, I applaud the volunteers who provide such support, but like some of my similarly crabby friends who fear the Californisation of this once sturdy people, I am put off by the language they use. A voice on the phone saying, "Sorry to hear of your burglary. Are you OK or are there some practical problems with which we can assist you?" is one thing. But if having had some property tossed and the contents of drawers tossed and the house makes me a "victim" who has "suffered", what terminology will be appropriate if my limbs are hauled off by a car-bomb?

A friend hacked me up by giggling about the experience of her father. In his time a war-hero, a key businessman and an MP, who has



For Liz, lest she forget

also experienced great personal tragedy, he was no more than irritated recently when his golf-clubs were stolen at a railway station. But as he was leaving the office of the transport police, one of the officers pressed a card into his hand and said: "If you ring this number, someone will counsel you on your loss."

Appropos the suggestion that the perpetrators of the burglary might have been from the IRA, my friend Eoin points out that rather than call them "Provos", I should adopt their own terminology and substitute "volunteers on active service".

I was diverted to learn that Sir Terry Burns, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, is trying to teach his staff manners with the help of a memorandum instructing them to greet messengers and security staff, apologise to each other if they have spoken sharply and generally try to behave like normal people. This sent me down memory lane to the day during my civil service career when I

was assigned a new recruit, a brilliant graduate – whom I shall call Ebenezer – whose intelligence and industry were exceeded only by his arrogance and rudeness.

"What are we to do about Ebenezer?" asked the rest of my staff after a few frightful days. "Break his legs," suggested the clerical assistant – to popular acclaim. Often I wished we could act on her advice, but instead we laboured on trying to enlighten him through example, constructive criticism and explaining through gritted teeth that to make enemies all around the department was counter-productive. Daily I wearily tried to repair the damage he wreaked so effortlessly.

Ebenezer's natural boorishness was exacerbated by his disrepute at having been posted not to the Treasury, which he felt to be his natural home, but to what he used to explain to anyone who would listen was an inferior department full of mediocrities. Eventually I was called upon to assess Ebenezer's performance and I wrote that despite his considerable intellectual gifts, I considered him so ill-mannered as to be unemployable anywhere except in the Treasury. Reader, they accepted him enthusiastically.



And lest they be rude, Terry Burns

Speaking of arrogance, the tenant of my affections would like you to know that a French restaurant which we

frequent has a wine list with a section called "Les Vins du Nouveau Monde", featuring wine from California, Chile, New Zealand and – wait for it – Spain.

I dimple shyly at Hugh Mitchell's response to my request for verse to avenge the wrong President Clinton did me recently in bawling Belfast cleaned out of transformers:

What he does in the States is ancillary.
But that scoundrel, the husband of Hillary.
For upsetting our Ruth
Should be sentenced, forsooth,
To a couple of days in the pillory.

And George Hummer rubs it in:

Bill Clinton
Has never been to Frinton.
The curl of his nose and lip
is nothing to do
With the unsatisfactory state of
that town's public loo.

My thanks to you and the other balm-providers. I feel much better now.

JST Looms was anxious you be informed about the 1997 Fimerick celebrating Fetomaxia:

There was a young fellow called Carter
Who was famed as a musical
farther.
He could play anything
From "God save the King"
To Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata.

Today's compulsory homework is set by Kate Odgers, whose family has been preoccupied since the late 1940s with finding the beginning of a riddle her father brought home after an evening with friends. "The answer is: 'One rode a horse and the other rhododendron.' I wonder if you, or any of your readers, know the question?" Please solve this one and thus release the Odgerses to do something useful with the rest of their lives.

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A funeral in Jerusalem

Yitzhak Rabin was not a religious nor a sentimental man. But it seemed that after 27 years of waging battle he had adopted the line in Isaiah which speaks of comforting the prophet's people and crying out to Jerusalem that "her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned". His death at the hands of a young Jewish fanatic is a terrible blow to Israel's democracy. But it cannot reverse the gains that Mr Rabin achieved for his people, nor will it extinguish the desire to achieve a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

Soldier, politician, tactical hawk and strategic dove, Mr Rabin epitomised many of the contradictions that have beset the state of Israel since its foundation. He fought its wars as chief of staff and, as minister of defence, he ordered its dehumanising repression of the Palestinians. Mr Rabin was shrewd enough to recognise the difference between a fight for national survival and an occupation that served only to corrode the values of the occupier. He made the choice for peace, not out of naivety or opportunism, but because he saw it as the best way to ensure the security of the Jewish people. The missiles fired from Iraq during the Gulf war of 1991 taught Israelis that protection could no longer be purchased with a few extra miles of territory. They could choose between a permanent state of war or a risky peace, trading occupied land for political recognition. Mr Rabin had the courage, unenthusiastically, to make that decision and he was rightly honoured for it with the Nobel Peace Prize.

Now he has joined the late Anwar Sadat in the upper ranks of those who have paid with their lives for veering away from the purist doctrines of religion and conflict so dominant in Middle Eastern politics. Yet his assassination was an act that simply carried into real life all the vituperative rhetoric heaped upon him

ever since the Israeli right realised that its dreams of expansion lay in the dust.

From Benjamin Netanyahu of the Likud, and from its extreme fringes, there came ritual expressions of shock yesterday. They should have been expressions of shame. For too long the "respectable" Israeli right has pondered to its fanatic fringe, legitimising religious fanatics and zealots who spout racist filth about Arabs. These are paranoid minorities in Israeli society, ready even to cheapen the memory of the Holocaust by manipulating painful emotions for their own narrow ends. There is a political culture of violence, hitherto exclusively directed at Palestinians. Now it has claimed an Israeli prime minister.

So let the period of mourning be a time for Mr Netanyahu, for the far right, for the Jewish settlers and their unthinking supporters abroad, to meditate on their future policies. The fact is Mr Rabin's achievement is irreversible without war. Israel will not go back into Gaza, nor retake the towns of the West Bank, nor consign the Palestinians once more to the limbo of a people without land or identity. With luck, firm nerves and concerted international support, Mr Rabin's successor should proceed to negotiate a withdrawal from the Golan Heights and from the martyred lands of south Lebanon. Peace treaties with Syria and Lebanon remain a worthy and attainable goal.

Yitzhak Rabin was denied the chance to see the fruits of his political courage but his funeral in Jerusalem today should not be seen as the end of his achievement. For it is he who has buried forever the possibility of an Israeli state maintained only by military might and sustained by a perversion of the Zionist ideal. Generations of the Jewish people still unborn, and even the descendants of his Palestinian foes, may yet render him their thanks.

Say No to Nolan at your peril

Today MPs should vote to accept the Nolan Committee's recommendation that they make public any earnings related to their parliamentary activities. Though it may be uncomfortable for MPs to let go their financial privacy, their whole credibility is at stake.

The Government and most Conservative MPs want to keep the financial affairs of backbenchers under wraps. They argue that, as long as MPs are not indulging in "paid advocacy" - furthering the interests of the companies that pay them by influencing legislation, and by lobbying other MPs and ministers - there is no risk for democracy. Paid advice, they say, is a matter of legitimate confidentiality between the individual and company concerned.

But Nolan was appointed to restore public faith in a parliament whose reputation is stained with sleaze. The "paid advocacy" argument fuels public suspicion, because it looks as if MPs are finding the kind of slippery escape route the public expects them to look for.

Voters anyway have a right to know exactly how much "paid advice" by their representatives is worth. Backbenchers who host dinners at the House of Commons so that company executives can impress prospective clients are retailing the offcuts of power. All very well, if com-

panies want to pay for it. But we should certainly know how much is being paid, because MPs are selling something they do not strictly own. They are in a position to sell such things only because voters elected them, and they cannot therefore hide the proceeds from their electors. An MP's access to power and enjoyment of privilege is given in trust through the ballot box.

Of course, this is an uncomfortable process, given that the British are almost as bashful about money as they are about sex. But top executives of public companies answer to shareholders and have recognised the need for fuller accountability. Anyone who exercises the kind of power in which the public are expected to place their trust should be willing to fall within the net. If MPs, why not judges and senior police officers? If utility bosses, why not television interviewers and, God bless us, newspaper editors?

Nolan represents an opportunity. To reject the recommendation of an outsider brought in to lend independent credibility to the attempt to clean up public life would be to undermine the whole exercise. If MPs want to continue under suspicion of sleaze then they should say No to Nolan. If they want to mend public confidence, they should vote today to flip their pocket-books open.

ANOTHER VIEW Claire Rayner

An exposure of prurience

The case of Julia Somerville appals me. The more I think about it, the more I realise that anyone with serious intentions of taking pornographic photographs of their children would then send them to Boots The Chemist for processing. It is so ludicrous it is bizarre - it is like a scenario out of the worst kind of television comedy show.

What is the world coming to if we react to the nudity of small children with such disgust and suspicion? Even in a sexually explicit age, children's nudity is an innocent thing, celebrated quite rightly by parents proud of their children's beautiful bodies. There is no erotic content in the sort of pictures taken by parents every day - and the innocent sight of babies' bottoms is used on our television screens to sell nappies without anyone being arrested and questioned by Scotland Yard. When I look through my family's photograph album, I see pictures of my children nude on the beach, in the bath, in the garden. I would guess that there isn't a parent in the country who hasn't got similar pictures.

We currently seem to have difficulty in recognising the difference between healthy, natural nudity and sexual display. *Pride and Prejudice* was a huge hit recently - yet it contained nothing more than naked bosoms in every other shot. No one complained about that - it is only nakedness that seems to upset people. Clothes, in fact, can be far more worrying than nudity. The sight of a three-year-old girl dressed for the beach in a bikini top, ap-

ing adult sexuality is surely obscene. Yet pictures like that would presumably not raise a flicker in the fundamentalist photographic processing department at Boots The Chemist.

Parents must not play along with this sort of hysteria. It runs against all normal human instincts, and must be resisted. It reminds me of the moral panic that persuaded social workers that *Satanic* abuse was sweeping the country - and all the suffering to families that ensued. I feel desperately sorry for Julia Somerville who, despite being in the public eye, has always maintained her dignity and her privacy. How offensive this must be to her, and how devastating that her children have been named in the papers and will surely be teased and questioned at school on Monday. I hope Ms Somerville will sue Boots and the police for the distress caused to her whole family.

As for the rest of us, there is a simple way that parents can make a stand against this kind of behaviour. We mustn't fall into the trap of over-censorship, of being afraid to act naturally with our children for fear of being carted off to Scotland Yard. Tonight I hope every parent in Britain takes pictures of their beautiful children in the bath, and floods Boots' department of prurient processing with them. That is the proper response to idiocy of this kind.

The writer is a former agony aunt, a broadcaster, journalist and novelist.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Rabin: the high price of peace

From Rabbi Walter Rothschild
Sir: One can only condemn the brutal assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. A veteran of many wars, he was also a man of vision who could see the prospects for peace and was prepared to pay a high price for it, if necessary. But this price was too high. A terrible, cowardly blow.

Those of us outside Israel can only watch, helpless, as those who seem to prefer a continuation of violence and hostility do all in their power to delay or thwart the peace process. This particular attack, coming moreover from Jewish opponents of that process, has been a grievous and tragic setback.

We must hope that Mr Rabin's mission will nevertheless reach fruition - for the alternative would be continued war, continued bloodshed, continued misery. And we know from history how terrible and pointless this can be.

Zecher Tzaddik Livra'ach - May His memory be a Blessing. Yours faithfully, WALTER ROTHSCHILD, Leeds, 4 November

From Ms Deborah Pritchett and Mr Jonathan Regal
Sir: When Jewish blood is shed, every Jew mourns. What brought

us into existence, in 1948, as a people with a homeland was a unity and passion for the religion. We made ourselves a people and a nation, Israel became our crown and power. By the power that we have been given, we have to not ourselves. It is Israel, through its deep divisions, that fuelled the young Jew to kill his leader, and our leader.

What Jew could act against his own laws, except the Jew who has no religion, but faith in a political whim. This whim has spat upon our dreams. It has spat upon our law. In its disregard for life, it has spat upon the essence of Judaism. What is it that makes a young man so bold as to spit at peace and at his leaders?

When Theodore Herzl, the leader of Zionism, said, "I am at the head of only boys and beggars ... with dreams", could he have believed that the heggar boy would come from Israel's own ranks to spill the blood of another Jew into the upturned glasses of anti-Jewish, anti-Israeli men, laughing at Israel's humiliation at the hands of its lone gunman?

Yours faithfully, DEBORAH PRITCHETT, JONATHAN REGAL, Letcham, Kent, 4 November

Mackay wants to save marriages

From The Rev Fred Pritchard
Sir: Perhaps it is time for a minister, who has had some experience in 40 years of dealing with requests for marriage, including the second marriage of divorced persons, to say something about the present campaign to save the institution from the alleged attacks of the Lord Chancellor.

I have not yet heard a single argument from the opponents against Lord Mackay's contention that the proposed year's delay for mediation is more likely to help strengthen marriage than weaken it. Indeed, their so-called reasons sound suspiciously like an attempt to convince by persistent repetition of ill-thought-out slogans.

As for the contention that the stability of marriage depends on being able to fasten fault; does anyone imagine that the breakdown of a solemnly entered relationship can happen without fault? The difficulty is that in most cases there are faults on both sides, and the attempt by either party to fix all the blame on the other can only make a bad situation worse. Mediation, even if it fails to heal the breach, can prevent the bitterness getting worse.

It is not only politically correct lefties who can see the merits of Lord Mackay's proposals. FRED S. PRITCHARD, Newport, Gwent, 3 November

Sweet memories

From Mr Ken Farnhill
Sir: I can confirm Alex Sayle's experience (Section Two, 31 October) of the different taste of KitKats destined for other, particularly sunnier, parts of the globe.

May I point out, however, that whatever Nestlé has done to the KitKat, and other brand names

under its control, the company cannot be regarded as KitKat's "creator". That honour belongs to Rowntree Mackintosh.

Nestlé's main achievement, since taking over Rowntree, seems to be having made KitKat, Yorkie et al taste worse. Yours faithfully, KEN FARNHILL, Cambridge, 31 October

Financial disclosure of MPs' 'consultancies'

From Mr Bryan Greetham
Sir: With more than 100 MPs threatening to stand down at the next general election if they are required to reveal their earnings from "consultancies", the Government is desperate for the public to accept a subtle redefinition of the term. There is, therefore, an urgent need for clarity.

At the least culpable end of the spectrum, there are MPs who are members of trade unions and professions, or who campaign for voluntary associations without payment or reward of any kind. This is where the Government would like the debate to reside.

But this only serves to obscure activities at the other end of this spectrum of culpability, where MPs exploit their privileged position to line their own pockets by selling their influence for cash. This includes not just the one-off cash payments for various services, such as putting down questions; but, more significantly, it includes the activities of PR firms, including some set up by backbench Conservative MPs, which have mushroomed over the past 15 years and now, more than any other factor, are progressively damaging Parliament's reputation and destroying its moral authority.

Setting aside the interests of their constituents, MPs sell their influence in Parliament to the highest bidder. Influence has shifted to those who can pay the large sums demanded: the tobacco and drinks industries, the

multinational fast food companies, even the South African government as it desperately sought to stave off reform.

This is influence exerted not on the basis of principle, but pecuniary interest. We should not be deceived. If MPs were prosecution witnesses, we would not object to the defence bringing to the attention of the jury the fact that they are being paid for their story.

Yours faithfully, B. GREETHAM, Caldas de Monchique, Portugal

From Mr John Paterson Paterson
Sir: Many years ago I was a member of a county borough council. We were required to declare all our financial interests, and they were recorded. Moreover, we were not allowed to speak or vote on any matter in which we had an interest.

When any matter in which we had an interest was under discussion, we formally declared it and left the chamber or committee room until we were invited back after the discussion was completed and the vote taken. This was required by an Act of Parliament, to ensure that we did not use our position as representatives for our own benefit.

Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? Yours faithfully, JOHN PATERSON PATERSON, Grappenhall, Cheshire, 2 November

Discrimination inside the Met

From Ms Jackie Cole
Sir: I find Sir Paul Condon's letter (30 October) both flattering and distressing. Flattering because the Commissioner must obviously feel the addition of one full-time female representative would help to solve all the problems of harassment and discrimination within the Metropolitan Police. Distressing because what the Commissioner failed to mention in his letter was that this full-time position was offered as part of a package, along with an offer of full-time male representatives, in return for overall reduction in federal representation. Because of this, the offer was totally unacceptable.

If Sir Paul would again make the offer of a full-time female representative, without imposing any conditions, this would be a welcome addition to the full-time representation and, as he points out, would greatly assist my colleagues who, on a daily basis, are reporting incidents of sexual harassment and discrimination from within the Metropolitan Police Service. Yours faithfully, JACKIE COLE, Metropolitan Police Federation Representative, London, E14, 2 November

Letters should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, and include a daytime telephone number. (Fax: 0171-293 2056; e-mail: letters@independent.co.uk) Letters may be edited for length and clarity. We regret that we are unable to acknowledge unpublished letters.

Prying and prejudice

From Mr Stephen J. King
Sir: The plight of Julia Somerville [arrested over allegedly indecent photographs of her seven-year-old daughter] is unfortunately not unique. As the author of a research paper presented to the Home Office, The Law Society, and Scotland Yard on the "child porn" legislation (The Protection of Children Act 1978), I am aware of several cases in which the intervention of high-street photographic firms has led to police investigation, unwarranted publicity, and subsequent horrendous disruption of family life.

The problem with this law lies in its interpretation. There is no adequate interpretation of "indecent" photographs, and this leaves the door wide open for unjust activity by the authorities. Such photographs must effectively be prejudged as "indecent" by the arresting officer or his superior, before coming in front of a magistrate or jury. About 40 to 50 prosecutions for taking or

distributing indecent photographs are made each year, according to Home Office statistics, and between one-quarter and one-half of these are brought as a result of complaints by processing laboratory staff. It should also be mentioned that, of these prosecutions made between 1991 and 1993, about one-third resulted in acquittals or proceedings being discontinued.

Can we assume that, whether Ms Somerville is eventually found to be innocent or guilty, her and her partner's names will be added to the computerised NCIS (National Criminal Intelligence Service) Paedophile Index because of this incident? Is it in the best interests of her daughter to be subjected to stressful interviews by police and/or social services? Also, do we assume that a child's body is inherently indecent, or should we continue to be able photographically to portray it in happy and innocent states, as well as in artistic ones? That is a lawful activity. Yours sincerely, STEPHEN KING, London, SE24, 4 November

'Artist' at work

From Mr Paul Brewer
Sir: Waldemar Januszczak (letter, 3 November) makes two ridiculous and unprovable claims concerning Damien Hirst's *Mother and Child Divided*; first, that it is an important work of British art and second, that, I quote, "all of us want it to last not one year or 10 years, but hundreds of years".

Why is it important, and to whom, I wonder? Will its presence increase the day-to-day quality of life of the average person, if indeed such a being actu-

addled

The day

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Riddled with corruption? I don't buy it

Driven by envy, public moral fervour over MPs and sleaze has made mountains out of molehills

Power corrupts, as we all know. But the converse is also true: impotence purifies. That is the point to bear in mind, whichever way today's vote on the Nolan report goes.

Labour, purified by 16 years in opposition, simply cannot lose. The public wants to hear what Mr Blair and his sidekicks will spend all day saying: the Tories have something to hide.

Yes, the Conservative Party is riddled with corruption. Every second MP is on the payroll of some dodgy "consultancy" firm or other, and the rest are available on a freelance basis. For the price of a decent lunch at Shepherd's and a cheque for £1,000, they will happily ask any question and table any motion. The worst excesses of the worst banana republic have got nothing on Mr Major's party.

Well, if you buy the idea of a Tory monopoly on sleaze, you'll buy just about anything. Need I do more than mention the names Stonehouse and Belcher? Or what about the Marconi scandal, which nearly wrecked the career of Lloyd George, that most radical of Liberals?

The same point would leap off the pages of a decent history of British local government. Indeed, growing up in Glasgow, I came to associate sleaze with certain Labour councillors who were hand in glove with (not to say related by blood and marriage to) certain building contractors.

Look abroad if you still cling to the notion of a unique nexus between sleaze and the right. In Belgium, in Spain and in France – to say nothing

of the outstandingly venal United States – corruption is a cross-party function of being in power. (In super-efficient Germany, as the Flick scandal revealed, some companies just dish out the cash to all the major parties.)

Only when you appreciate the link between corruption and power, do you begin to see how laughable the entire Nolan business really is. To me, the bizarre thing is that anyone should ever consider Tory MPs worth paying, in the way "exposed" by the *Sunday Times*. The plain fact is that MPs – and most junior ministers – do not really have power. Indeed, I almost feel sorry for anyone who has parted with hard-earned cash merely for some political nonentity to pose a question in the Commons. Did no one tell them about the transfer of power from the legislature to the executive?

The point is that there is only one sort of sleaze worth worrying about, and that is the sort involving ministers, or indeed civil servants. Put it this way, and you realise what a remarkably uncorrupt government we have had since 1979.

There have been sex scandals, of course. And yes, it seems likely – though we still await the Scott report – that ministers bent their own rules governing the sale of arms to Iraq. But it takes a peculiar sort of warped Puritanism to think that a man cannot run a government department simply because he likes to have it off in a Chelsea strip. And the worst conclusion to be drawn about Matrix Churchill is that, far from being in back to the arms



NIALL FERGUSON

The bizarre thing is that anyone should consider Tory MPs worth paying

dealers, certain ministers were ready to let the company's directors go to jail rather than reveal their own complicity in a covert export drive. No one has suggested for a minute that the ministers in question stood to gain financially from the trade with Iraq.

The reality is that British political life remains, by international standards, boringly punctilious. Which is not surprising, considering what mountains the press and public have made out of the pre-Nolan molehills.

So why do companies bother paying for the services of hackbench MPs? For much the same reason, it seems to me, that accountancy firms take would-be clients for games of golf, drug companies shower doctors with free stationery, journalists take contacts for liver-curdling lunches

and travel firms send journalists on skin-scoring holidays. Such transactions – some of which lead to reciprocal favours, but many of which do not – are simply what makes our world go round. And in a country in which the state spends the equivalent of about 40 per cent of GNP, it would be odd if such freebies and perks never came the way of MPs.

The notion implicit in Labour's line of argument – that MPs should only represent their constituents, should represent them all equally, and should live on nothing but their salary – is absurd.

Of course, not everyone is part of the Great Chain of Being. Roughly one fifth of the population is "corrupted" in a rather different way, in the form of dopes from the state itself. These are often the same people who pester MPs for improvements in the level of benefits to which they believe themselves to be entitled, and vote for the candidate who promises the highest improvement.

In short, public enthusiasm for new Labour's rhetoric about Nolan is the snow-white tip of a grey iceberg of hypocrisy. Well, I for one am not prepared to join in. As it happens, I find myself in a position not dissimilar to that of MPs today. I am employed as a Fellow and lecturer at a university, for which I am paid even less than an MP. A substantial piece of my income comes from writing pieces like this.

As things stand now, that is a matter between me, my accountant and the taxman. But every now and then Blair-like

voices demand that we should all declare our outside earnings. The motive for this is clear: university bureaucrats want to get their hands on at least a proportion of what I and others earn "on the side". It has been argued that, because I am an employee of the university, all my income is in some sense the university's, to be taxed and redistributed as it sees fit.

Were such a measure to be introduced, I would be out of university life before you could say "something to hide". Even compulsory declaration of outside earnings would make me think twice. This would be a pity, because I rather like teaching, economically irrational though it is – just as I am sure many MPs like politics, though its opportunity cost is also high.

Why would disclosure of earnings worry me? Because, like the Tory MPs who have forced John Major to water down Nolan, I fear the envy of others. In other countries, to earn money from a variety of different sources is considered a sign of success. But even if everyone in the country were obliged to declare publicly their total earnings, the financial winners would be the moral losers.

I am not sure why envy is so powerful an emotion in this country. Perhaps it is the memory of wartime rationing. Perhaps it goes back to Puritan sermons about camels and needles' eyes. But the spirit of envy will be abroad today, in the House of Commons and in the country. Why not vote for the publication of all tax returns while you are at it, chaps?

Sport defies the US game plan

My eye was caught by a headline in the *International Herald Tribune* the other day, saying "British Miss Point of NBA Circus". I had no idea what this meant. So, of course, I read the story. That is why one reads foreign papers like the *Tribune* – to learn. Apparently, several top basketball teams had arrived in London, sponsored by McDonald's, to stage a tournament. But not enough people had turned out to watch. So the *Tribune* had run a story saying that British missed the point of basketball.

In fact, as the writer, Ian Thomson, pointed out, basketball is already big on the Continent, so it is only the British, of the Europeans, who cannot see the point. The British seem to believe, says Thomson, that "basketball is essentially too easy, with goals dealt back and forth like cards from a deck. On the other side of the ocean, World Cup or not, Americans scoff at the idea of soccer games with no scoring at all. But the British majority, who believe staunchly in the less-is-more of soccer, will probably grow used to fast breaks and alley-oops just like they have got used to Big Macs, car phones, 'call-waiting' and multi-channel cable television."

It is not often you find a sportswriter using a column to score points off other cultures, and I felt almost inclined to defend the British here, until I realised that what Thomson was doing was not attacking the British, but defending the Americans. The Americans have been desperate for many years to have one of their sports accepted abroad. They are conscious that there are games in the world like football, cycling and rugby which mean a lot to a lot of people except in America. They are aware that many games popular in the United States, such as golf and tennis, do not have American origins. They are conscious that the few games which are indigenous to America have never found favour outside. So when the British do not turn up to watch basketball, it irks them.

It irks them that the Americans have never managed to invent a game which has gone on to sweep around the world. American football, baseball, basketball, cheer-leading, ice hockey... all of these have achieved a foothold outside the US, but have never really flourished away from the home belt. So, the Americans scratch their heads and look on amazed as the rest of the world persists in loving football, with its low scoring rate and sometimes no scoring rate.

They cannot see how any game which does not produce a lot of points, nor goals, nor runs, nor something can possibly be any good. They cannot comprehend how cricket can be played for five days and still end in a draw.

Of course, the Americans are not alone in having games which are hard to export. From time to time, Channel 4 has enterprisingly brought us strange games from other countries – such as Australian rules football, Gaelic football, Japanese sumo wrestling and that funny form of tag from India, the name of which I can never remember.

Indeed, Channel 4 could be said to have invented a new game called "Guess the Rules", in which the competitor switches on the set to watch a foreign game and has to work out the rules of the game, the scoring system and even the country of origin. There are other games that I do not remember ever having seen on television, even in these global days, such as Thai kick-boxing and the

Burmese game called chinlon but, as I do not have access to a non-stop sports channel, I may be behind the times here...

Judging from Thomson's list of things I am supposed to be used to, I certainly am behind the times. I have not got used to Big Macs. I hate Big Macs. I have not got used to car phones and multi-channel cable television.

And I am not even sure what "call-waiting" is. If, as I suspect, it is the unbearably smug woman, like a sort of female version of Michael Howard, who answers your telephone call with the message along the lines of "The person you have dialed knows you are calling but is talking to someone far more interesting, so you will have to wait a while, won't you?", then no, I have not got used to call-waiting and I personally would like to come round and grab call-waiting round the neck and strangle the living daylight out of call-waiting.

I am sorry. I have fallen prey to the temptation to score points off the Yanks. But at least it shows I'm wrong. There is one sport that originated in the US, to spread throughout the world and become played everywhere: America-bashing. It is an easy game, too high-scoring to be really significant, but it is still a lot of fun.



MILES KINGTON

The Jewish state believed in its unity. Patrick Cockburn analyses the tensions too strong to beat

The day the Israeli dream died

The assassination of Yitzhak Rabin was the result of a gamble that failed. His government believed that by ignoring the extreme religious right-wingers who saw the peace process as a betrayal of Israel it could isolate and marginalise them. It made no effort to disarm them, despite their repeated threats that they would resort to violence.

The peace rally at which he died was a perfect illustration of the strategy. Tens of thousands of Israeli supporters of the peace process stood in Tel Aviv's main square, singing and chanting for peace. In a side street stood a huddle of right-wingers holding a placard promising "a rope for the

The assassination will sharpen the differences between the religious and the secular Jews

traitors". But it was a bullet, not a rope, that killed the "traitor" – and may have ended for ever the dream of Jewish unity that sustained the state of Israel for 47 years.

It is a nation whose citizens come from scores of different countries, with a fragmented political system which gives influence to the tiniest of parties, where there are myriad tensions between the religious and the secular, the Ashkenazi (Eastern European) and Sephardi (Middle Eastern) Jews, between groups of immigrants and competing brands of Zionism. Israelis pride themselves on their tough, argumentative, macho natures, but until yesterday they believed the threat from outside would enable them to bridge any divisions within.

Mr Rabin's policy of marginalising his opponents almost succeeded. Right-wing demonstrations in recent months have been ill-attended. The 140,000 Israeli settlers in the occupied territories received only lukewarm support from Likud, the mainstream party of the right. The opponents of progressive Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank became increasingly desperate after Mr Rabin and Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, signed an agreement in Washington on 28 September that within a few months Israeli troops are to withdraw from the main Palestinian cities and the peace agreement will become irreversible.

Politicians and security officials saw there was a danger that the most extreme enemies of the peace process would resort to violence. The Israeli press has been speculating on the



Yitzhak Rabin: he gambled and lost

chances of a repeat of last year's atrocity when Baruch Goldstein, a religious settler, slaughtered 29 Muslims in a mosque in Hebron. "The script was written," said Professor Ehud Sprinzak, an expert on the radical right at Hebrew University. "The potential assassins were there. Over the last week I have been worried sick. Rabin was shown in posters in an Arab kaffiyeh (headscarf) like Arafat, with his hands covered in blood. At a demonstration in Jerusalem there was a picture of him in SS uniform." The demonstration set the stage for assassination.

In mid summer the bodyguards around Mr Rabin and Shimon Peres were strengthened. But Yigal Amir, the assassin, was able to own a pistol while associating with extreme groups and distributing anti-Rabin leaflets. Twice before this year he is said to have attended meetings addressed by the prime minister in the hope of making an attack. For all the forewarnings about violence – and Mr Rabin's assassination was frequently predicted – Amir came within a few feet of him,

despite the presence of 700 police. Perhaps they couldn't believe an Israeli Jew would ignore communal solidarity and kill their prime minister.

The assassination can only sharpen the deep differences in Israel between secular and religious Jews. The vast majority of Israelis are secular, but the religious are far more numerous than posters in an Arab kaffiyeh (headscarf) like Arafat, with his hands covered in blood. At a demonstration in Jerusalem there was a picture of him in SS uniform. The demonstration set the stage for assassination.

The religious-secular tensions always shaped Israeli electoral politics. In 1977, Mr Rabin's first government was brought down because of religious protests over a ceremony to receive US fighter aircraft on the Sabbath. The three most famous acts of political violence by Israelis during the past 15 years were all carried out by

students from religious seminaries – a grenade thrown into a demonstration of Israelis against the invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Goldstein's massacre in Hebron and now the assassination of Mr Rabin.

How far has Amir succeeded in derailing the peace process? Yossi Sarid, a senior minister, said: "The prime minister has been assassinated, but the policies of this government have not been assassinated." Mr Peres, who has been more committed than Mr Rabin to the peace process but who is less popular with the electorate, becomes prime minister. Binyamin Netanyahu, Likud's leader, will tone down his opposition to withdrawal and Palestinian self-rule. To stand a chance of winning the next election, he needs to refute accusations that his overheated attacks on Mr Rabin's government created the atmosphere in which the assassination took place.

This gives Mr Peres room to manoeuvre in the short term. He could even try to capitalise on the discrediting of the far right by holding a snap

election in three months' time – though this could delay the withdrawal process. This would be a dangerous manoeuvre. Israel's divisions about Palestinian self-rule will not go away. In Mr Rabin the Labour Party has lost its best vote-winner. It will try to persuade voters that opposition to the peace process is a vote for the politics of Anwar, but it may not succeed.

At the same time, the agreements with the Palestinians have their own momentum, even if they are not very popular with either side. Polls show that a majority of Israelis dislike and distrust Mr Arafat, but a majority also feel they must go on talking to him. They do not necessarily want to with-

draw, but they also do not want to face the alternative – which is to fight.

Many Palestinians are equally unimpressed. Israel will still have overall military control of the West Bank. But there is a deep desire to see Israeli troops withdraw, even if it is only to the edge of town. Mr Arafat may not have got Palestinians what they want, but he has won them more than they had before. His opponents have failed to mobilise popular support, despite the many failings of Mr Arafat's authoritarian government. Ordinary Palestinians do not believe there is an alternative policy. Leaders of Hamas, the largest extremist Islamic organisation, admit they are in disarray despite their campaign of Israeli bus bombings that has caused great anguish in the Jewish state.

The distress of the bus bombings, however great, was nothing compared to yesterday's shock of violence by one Jew against another Jew. Liberal Israelis were yesterday hoping the trauma would discredit the opposition to the peace process and the messianic religious zealots alike. Some settler leaders sounded abashed by the consequences of their rhetoric. But this is probably only temporary. The divisions that led to the assassination are too deep to be overcome. In the past, friction between Israel and the outside world masked – both to foreigners and to Israelis themselves – the deep tensions within the country, which on Saturday exploded into violence. Along with Mr Rabin will be buried the idea that Jewish communal solidarity makes Israel different and more united than other states.

by Tony Reeve and Steve Way



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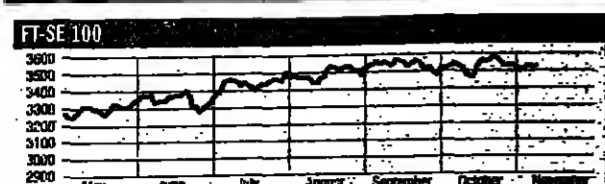
GAVYN DAVIES

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MARKET SUMMARY

STOCK MARKETS

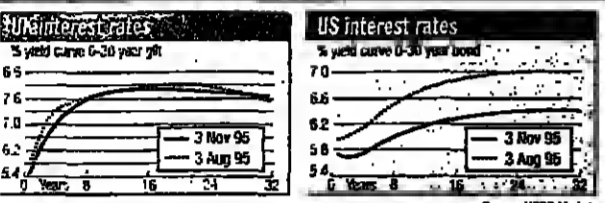


Index	Close	Week's chg	Change (%)	12 Mth High	12 Mth Low	Yield (%)
FTSE 100	3500.4	+2.5	+0.1	3593.0	2943.4	4.0
FTSE 250	3873.7	+9.4	+0.2	3991.3	3300.9	3.5
FTSE 350	1742.7	+1.9	+0.1	1785.3	1477.0	3.9
FT Small Cap	1939.3	-0.3	-0.0	1993.1	1678.6	3.4
FT All-Share	1720.3	+1.7	+0.1	1757.6	1485.2	3.9
New York	4825.6	+83.8	+1.8	4825.6	3674.8	2.4
Tokyo	18028.8	+691.6	+4.0	19811.6	14486.4	0.8
Hong Kong	9855.8	+175.1	+1.8	10032.9	8867.9	3.3
Frankfurt	2181.7	+85.6	+4.1	2317.0	1911.0	2.0
Paris	1832.1	+99.7	+5.2	2017.3	1721.8	3.7
Milan	9336.0	+125.0	+1.4	10811.0	8812.0	2.7

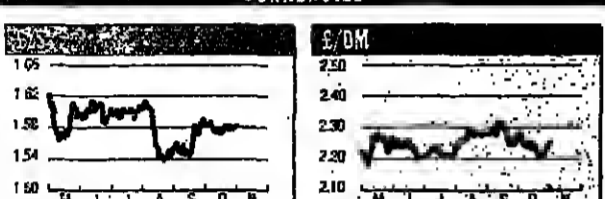
MAIN PRICE CHANGES

Unit: FTSE 350 companies							
Rises - Top 5			Falls - Top 5				
	Price(p)	Week's Change(p)	%Change		Week's Change(p)	%Change	
Refuge Group	433	31	7.7	Baird (William)	192	26	11.9
Pilkington	197.5	13	7.1	Kwik Save	600	79	11.6
Lucas Indus	198	13	7.0	Bryant Group	93.5	9.5	9.2
Invesco	251.5	16.5	7.0	Island Group	153	14	8.4
Rugby Group	113	7	6.6	Kalson Group	112	10	8.2

INTEREST RATES



CURRENCIES



Pound vs.	Close	Week's Chg	Tr. Ago
\$ (London)	1.5793	-0.12c	1.6175
\$ (New York)	1.5809	+0.20c	-
DM (London)	2.2348	+2.29pt	2.4499
Yen (London)	163.62	+13.12	157.89
Euro (London)	84.3	+0.5	89.8
\$ Index	84.3	+0.5	89.8
E (London)	0.6332	+0.05	0.6182
E (New York)	0.6337	-0.08	-
DM (London)	1.4159	+1.54pt	1.5146
Yen (London)	103.57	+12.12	97.61
\$ Index	93.5	+0.4	93.6

OTHER INDICATORS

	Close	Week's chg	Year Ago		Index	Latest	Year Ago	Next Figs
Oil Brent \$	16.63	+\$0.35	17.98	RPI	150.6	3.9pc	2.4	16 Nov
Gold \$	382.50	-\$0.25	383.70	GDP	106.6	2.4pc	4.1	20 Nov
Gold £	242.50	+0.33	237.22	Base Rates	-	6.75pc	5.25	-

Source: Datastream

IN BRIEF

Amerada ready to pipe in the West

Amerada Hess, the independent gas company, is poised to supply tens of thousands of private customers in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset with its own gas supplies, promising to cut at least 15 per cent off their bills. The company says the reduction, worth £50 a year for an average two-bedroom terrace, will be delivered via British Gas pipes with all meters, emergency and safety arrangements being unaffected. Amerada is also guaranteeing to peg prices at their current levels for at least two years.

The company's move into household gas supply follows a long battle to force British Gas to abandon its own monopoly in the sector. Last year, the Government gave independent suppliers the green light to supply households, despite a Monopolies and Mergers Commission ruling that this should not take place until the end of the century.

Homeowners feeling better

Homeowners across the UK are increasingly optimistic about the housing market, according to a survey by Birmingham Midshires Building Society. The society's "feel-good" index shows the number of people looking to move home in the next 12 months has risen significantly in the third quarter.

Victrex to float at £120m

Victrex, the plastics company, is preparing to float on the Stock Exchange, with a market capitalisation of up to £120m. The Lancashire-based company recorded a 45 per cent rise in operating profits to £10.2m, on turnover of £31.3m, in the year ending September 1995.

British holiday shortage

One in nine British workers receives no paid holidays, according to a study by Francis Green, a professor at Leeds University School of Business and Economic Studies. Part-time and temporary staff or those working in small workplaces are most likely not to get holiday pay. Professor Green's survey also shows that British workers are the only ones in Europe to have no legal right to paid holidays.

Call for spending cuts

Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, could cut up to £3bn off the tax bill, allowing him to top a penny off the basic rate of income tax, by cutting spending and reducing next year's contingency reserve, according to Roger Bootle, chief economist at HSBC Greenwell. However, Alan Davies, Barclays' chief economist, said unless any tax cuts were matched by public spending reductions, interest rates would be forced up.

TDI wins Irish advertising contract

TDI, the UK's top transport advertising firm, has been awarded a five-year licence to run all transport advertising in the Republic of Ireland. The contract gives TDI one third of all outdoor advertising in the Republic. The company's 150,000 UK sites generate about £30m in sales.

Property market awaits Budget

Property buyers and sellers are waiting to see whether this month's Budget will have an impact on their investments, according to the Richard Ellis research consultancy. In the short term the market will not suffer, irrespective of whether steps are taken to boost confidence. The consultancy's October monthly index shows average initial yield rose from 8.5 to 8.6 per cent.

Companies stay open to EMU

Only a fifth of British companies believe the door should be firmly shut on European monetary union, according to a survey commissioned from Mori by the CBI and the British Chambers of Commerce. Due to be published today, the survey is expected to be challenged by the Institute of Directors.

Privatisation: Government urged to scrap golden share and change rules on property profits

Railtrack seeks new sweeteners

PETER RODGERS
AND CHRISTIAN WOLMAR

Railtrack is fighting to make its flotation next year more attractive to the City by arguing it should be allowed to keep some of the profits it makes on property development, and pressing the Government not to retain a golden share that would allow ministers to block takeovers.

The moves follow the disclosure in Saturday's *Independent* that the Government is set to give the railways an additional subsidy of £100m to cover the costs of Railtrack's inability to keep services running on time. All three measures are seen as important to boosting the value of Railtrack when it is floated next April or May - after a long period in which City estimates of the company's value have more than halved from an initial guess of as much as £4bn.

Under rail privatisation legislation, the company is due to hand any profits on property development back to the Government so they can be used to reduce the train operating companies' track access charges.

But Railtrack has told John Swift, the rail regulator, that there will be no incentive to develop trackside property if its shareholders do not receive a part of the action. Although British Rail kept a large number of properties in public ownership, Railtrack was handed a considerable amount of land needed for operational use of the railways, including the stations. Much of this is certain to be developed when the property market recovers.

Railtrack's opposition to a golden share is thought to be

based on the fact that this would depress the value of the company because it would remove any takeover premium. At the likely flotation price of up to £2bn, Railtrack would be an easy mouthful for a large company to swallow and there would be enormous embarrassment for the Government if, for example, the bidder were a foreign railway operator.

Railtrack's hostility to golden shares follows a statement from Professor Stephen Littlechild, the electricity regulator, last month that it had been a mistake for the Government to retain a golden share in the regional electricity companies. This contributed to the undervaluing of the companies when they were sold.

Railtrack is also believed to be arguing strongly for a flotation of 100 per cent of its shares, although the Government has so far committed itself only to selling 51 per cent or more. Department of Transport sources have said 51 per cent is the minimum.

The main argument put forward within Railtrack for a sale of the entire company is that it would reduce the political risk and potential disruption from an incoming Labour government, which could retake control by buying 2 per cent if only 51 per cent were in private hands. It has also emerged that the Government and its advisers are considering a tender offer to institutions as one option for the Railtrack sale, because it might produce higher revenues than a public offer for sale. A proportion, perhaps 20 per cent, might still be kept back for the public at a discount to the tender price.



Underneath the arches: property developments like these at Liverpool Street spell big profits Photograph: Brian Harris

The additional £100m subsidy would be funnelled to Railtrack through supplementary track access charges paid to the company by the train operators. It is to compensate for the financial risk to Railtrack of meeting tough new performance targets set by Mr Swift, which will

increase the volatility of its profits and reduce the value of its shares.

Half the agreements on performance monitoring between Railtrack and the 25 train companies have been signed, with the remainder due to be completed by Christmas. It is a vi-

tal pre-requisite of the privatisation that these deals are sewn up since the performance regimes represent one of the uncertainties surrounding Railtrack's financial strength.

While Railtrack could lose a substantial proportion of its income - believed to be up to 10

per cent - the extent of the losses will be capped, and if Railtrack performs better than expected, it will receive extra money.

This capping was insisted upon by Railtrack as otherwise the risk would have been unacceptable to the private sector.

Two bidders drop out of ITN share sale

MATHEW HORSMAN
Media Editor

Two potential buyers of shares in Independent Television News have taken themselves out of the running, jeopardising the planned sale of a 32 per cent stake in the ITV news provider.

HTV and Yorkshire Television, both ITV licence-holders, have confirmed that they will not take up shares offered by Lazard Freres, the investment bank, on behalf of Granada and Carlton, the media companies.

Ward Thomas, chairman of YTT, said uncertainty over ITN's status as sole supplier of news to ITV made it impossible to agree a price for the shares. "At this stage, we don't know what the price of the shares should be. We do not know if a second news provider might be appointed, and how that would affect the price of the shares."

BSkyB, the satellite and cable broadcaster that operates the 24-hour Sky News, has offered to supply ITV for about £30m a year, compared with the £55m currently charged by ITN. The Independent Television Commission, which regulates the provision of news on ITV, said late last week that it had written to BSkyB inviting the company to expand on its proposals. BSkyB, owned 40 per cent by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, intends to reply within 21 days.

BSkyB has also been asked to show how it would meet rules limiting shareholdings in a designated news provider to 20 per cent. It is expected that the broadcaster would establish a separate company, with partners, to offer the service.

YTT's Mr Thomas conceded that the company had made a firm offer for 20 per cent of the ITN shares recently, but that no agreement could be reached. He said the offer would not be

renewed. The ownership situation at ITN was confused by a pre-emptive right held by other ITN shareholders. Reuters, Scottish Television and MAI, to increase their holdings when shares are made available.

Lazard insists that there are plenty of potential buyers, but declined to discuss price or terms of the intended sale.

It is believed that most ITV licence-holders would prefer to retain ITN as the news supplier, and submissions to the ITC last month indicate reasonably wide support. But insiders at Sky insist that their bid is serious, and that at least some ITV companies would prefer their service to ITN's.

The competing supply bid has put pressure on Granada and Carlton, which must reduce their holdings in ITN from 36 per cent to a maximum of 20 per cent each by the end of the year to meet government ownership limits. The excessive stakes were the result of takeovers by Granada and Carlton of LWT and Central respectively.

But the ITN contract negotiations are scheduled to begin only in 1996. There are no plans to bring the talks forward, despite the uncertainty surrounding the share sale.

An insider at Granada said HTV and YTT, both of which have complained to the ITC about the ITN news service on the basis both of quality and cost, are merely trying to drive down the price of ITN shares to buy them on the cheap.

"The companies have no intention of subscribing to Sky News. This is just a campaign to force a lower price from ITN for its news coverage or to drive down the price of ITN shares," the source said. It was also suggested that HTV and YTT may be trying to force the seller to dump shares directly into the market, in order to buy stakes at lower prices later.

Bank to tighten derivatives trade

DIANE COYLE
Economics Correspondent

The Bank of England will shortly be asking banks to report additional information on their trade in derivatives to strengthen its supervision of the controversial financial products.

Following the Barings report, a senior director of every City bank will have to sign an affidavit to the Bank and approve the theoretical models their traders use in assessing the risk of derivatives.

Banks make widely different assessments of the risks involved in a particular type of derivative, over-the-counter options, according to an article in the Bank's forthcoming *Quarterly Bulletin*.

They therefore charge a wide range of prices for such trades, which have been the culprit in losses made by several international groups including Procter & Gamble, Metallgesellschaft and Gibsons Greengates.

Reporting the results of a survey of banks involved in this trade earlier this year, the authors say the banks were aware of the uncertainty involved in assessing the risk of OTC options, "but it is an issue which the Bank, as a supervisor, will need to continue to monitor".

An OTC option is a contract tailor-made for the customer, offering the right to buy or sell an underlying asset at a pre-set price on or before a certain date. Companies can use options to hedge the risk involved in other

transactions, but when the strategy goes wrong the losses can be limitless.

As there is no readily available information about how the risk of OTC options is assessed, the Bank of England asked 35 banks in London asked to know how the banks that it is supervising price and manage these products, since for many they are a significant and growing part of their business," the *Bulletin* article says.

The survey allowed it to pick out the banks that were pricing their OTC options very differently from their competitors, and give them closer scrutiny. The article says: "On the supervisory side, the survey was

useful in identifying several banks that were pricing products very differently from the rest of the market."

Banks trading in derivatives will be required to provide additional information about their activities to comply with the EU's capital adequacy directive, which comes into force on 1 January. Banks will have to allocate capital according to risk and will be forced to report their trading books in detail.

They will also be compelled to use methods for measuring derivatives risks and pricing the contracts that are approved by the Bank of England.

The new requirements will be costly, but banks recognise that they have little choice but to comply.

£500m Welsh plan at National Power

MARY FAGAN
Industrial Correspondent

National Power, the generator bidding £2.8bn for Southern Electric, will safeguard or create more than 1,350 jobs thanks to a £500m investment in the conversion of a South Wales power station.

The lion's share of the outlay, at the Pembroke oil-fired station, will be for equipment including sulphur scrubbing systems and special burners to clean up emissions from the plant to meet tight pollution regulations.

The power plant is to burn orimulsion, which environmentalists have described as the world's dirtiest fuel.

The project is subject to planning consent from the Government and final authorisation from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution. The conversion would protect 250 existing full-time jobs at Pembroke and create a further 100. In addition it would employ more than 1,000 people during the construction period.

Keith Henry, National Pow-

er's chief executive, said: "The future of the plant relies entirely on getting the go-ahead. The cost of the fuel makes it very competitive and I believe that this marks a very positive step in the development of the UK energy industry."

Mr Henry said National Power hopes to go ahead next year with a fifth combined-cycle gas turbine power station at Sturthorpe in Nottinghamshire. The company has two CCGTs in operation, one about to come on stream and a fourth under construction alongside an existing plant at Didcot in Oxfordshire.

Commenting on the takeover bid, Mr Henry rejected suggestions that National Power would try to buy other regional electricity firms if it won Southern Electric.

He said the company planned to become a national supplier of electricity once the market opened up to competition in 1998, but added: "I believe we can do all we want with Southern. I can honestly say that I am not looking at any other regional firm."

Nomura 'holds merger talks with Daiwa'

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY
Tokyo

A likely merger between Sumitomo Bank and the scandal-stricken Daiwa Bank may also involve the leading Japanese brokerage, Nomura Securities, forming the biggest financial conglomerate in the world.

Japanese newspapers yesterday quoted unnamed sources close to Nomura, who claimed that the brokerage had already held talks with Daiwa aimed at eventually setting up a joint holding company. On Friday,

Daiwa and Sumitomo admitted that a merger was possible, after the US regulatory authorities ordered Daiwa to close all its US operations following the alleged cover-up of \$1.1bn (£690m) bond trading losses.

The banks insist that detailed talks have not yet begun, but reports suggest that a union is likely, possibly as early as autumn 1996. The proposed bank would be easily the world's biggest, with total capital of ¥62,000bn (£380bn), compared with a combined ¥52,700bn for the merger of Mitsubishi Bank

and the Bank of Tokyo, which will formally take place in April. As the only one of the Japanese commercial banks licensed to carry out trust business, Daiwa is an attractive prospect for a potential suitor. The new institution would have a wider line of business than any other Japanese institution, and its formation would be likely to have a profound effect on the banking sector, with competitors forced to revise corporate strategies and consider their own mergers to survive.

The Finance Ministry and Bank of Japan are said to approve of the merger, although various obstacles remain, above all the 24 criminal charges brought against Daiwa by US prosecutors on Friday. Daiwa has accepted the order to wind up its US operations by the end of February, but it has denied the allegations of a cover-up or systematic illegal trading. Last week it rejected a plea-bargaining offer from prosecutors and, if each of the 24 charges is individually contested, the prospect of an early merger would recede.

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GAVYN DAVIES

"Several factors have tipped the argument on base rates in the optimists' favour, at least for a while"

Four reasons why base rates could be cut

I somewhat surprised myself last week by agreeing with the majority of my colleagues on the Treasury Forecasting Panel that some easing in monetary policy might be desirable in the next few months. This change of view came both from recent evidence about inflation pressures in the economy, and also from being persuaded by some of the arguments advanced by Patrick Minford and Tim Congdon at the Panel meetings.

More of that later, but first what future is there for the Panel itself? By the end of this year, the original seven members will be down to three, partly because of the rotation system of enforced retirements, and partly because of career changes. The Chancellor will shortly need to make some new appointments to take the Panel through the election, or else wrap up the institution altogether.

Ever since the press first dubbed us the "wise men", there has been a strong undercurrent of derision from some quarters. The *Guardian* established an alternative Panel consisting solely of women. This was presumably to make a point about sexism, which I thought wholly valid, but sadly, like most gimmicks, it sank without trace. Others seemed more affronted by the "wise", and desperate to prove they had not read the Panel's terms of reference, told us to stick to forecasting, and leave policy advice to others. Meanwhile, the Panel did not get off to a good start, with attention being drawn to a public dogfight between members on the rather obscure topic of the nature of the "LM" curve in Keynesian economics. Not surprisingly, when Ken Clarke arrived, he seemed unconvinced that this sort of thing was a good use of public money. (Actually, the cost is *de minimis*, other than the considerable use of senior officials' time in meetings and drafting.) Ever since, the Panel's future has seemed somewhat uncertain.

Drafting sessions when reports are being

prepared can be as painful as pulling teeth, and this often shows in the finished product. Some of the early reports were little more than six or seven disparate views stitched together. But the 1995 reports have seen an improvement. The two special topics discussed this year – European Monetary Union and the framework of domestic monetary policy – have not produced unanimous reports, but at least they attempted to confront the main areas of disagreement among economists on crucial questions. As far as I am aware, the Panel is the only forum in this country where economists of different persuasions are forced to try to reconcile differing approaches, rather than throwing darts at each other across an unbridged intellectual divide.

This year's reports have produced clear majority recommendations on a series of important issues. Four out of six members recommended against UK membership of EMU in its current form. The same number recommended that the Bank of England should be given autonomy in setting interest rates, within the constraints of the inflation objective set by the Government. Five out of six opposed cuts in income tax in the Budget. And all six said that interest rates

should come down if the fiscal stance is left broadly unchanged after the Chancellor's November package. If not full unanimity, then certainly not the undisciplined cacophony of which the Panel is often accused.

This brings us back to monetary policy and inflation. Patrick Minford and, to a lesser extent, Tim Congdon have been arguing throughout the life of the Panel that inflation would remain very subdued for several more years. Though both are seen as "monetarists", and both believe that disinflationary forces are in the ascendant at present, there are crucial differences between them.

The Minford view is that the Thatcherite supply side reforms of the past 15 years have greatly increased the output potential of the economy, and there is chronic underemployment in the labour market. He therefore calls for large cuts in taxes and base rates to take advantage of these supply side gains. The Congdon view is that there is no real evidence of large supply side gains, but that output is some distance below trend. He is opposed to further fiscal easing, but believes base rates could be reduced without jeopardising the Government's inflation target. In 1994, a succession of favourable surprises

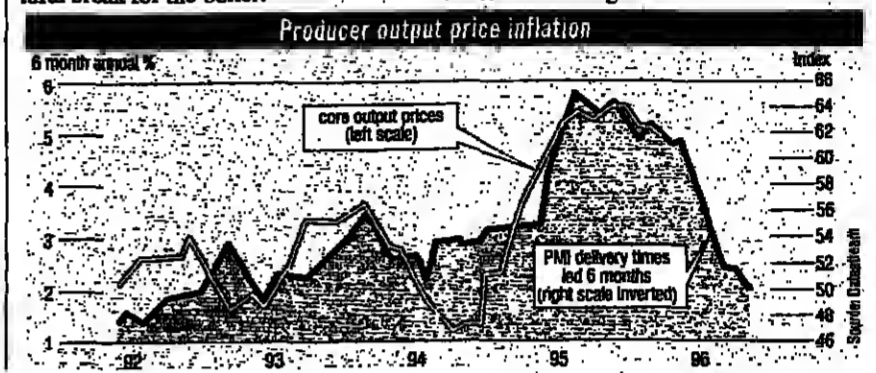
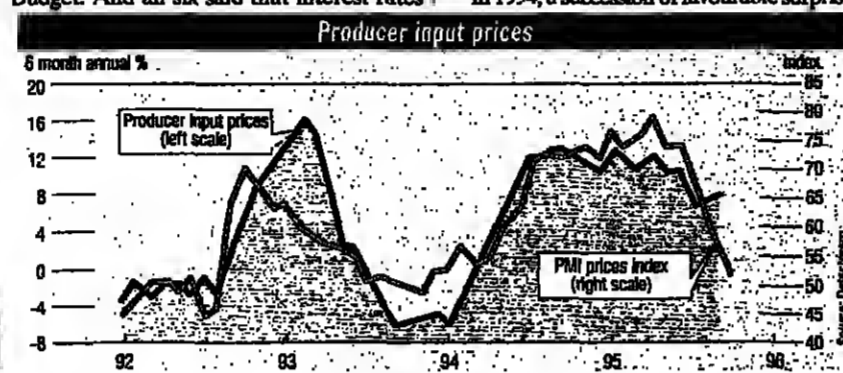
on the retail prices front seemed to strengthen the optimists' view of the inflation process, but this year their RPI forecasts have proved too low. The optimists vehemently opposed the 1.5 per cent rise in base rates last year, without which the increase in underlying inflation this year would undoubtedly have been much more pronounced. So it is far from clear that their view has been fully vindicated.

Nevertheless, several factors have tipped the argument on base rates in the optimists' favour, at least for a while. First, growth in the economy has slowed in response to last year's monetary tightening. Although this has only pushed GDP growth fractionally below trend so far, the build-up in stocks has reached worrying proportions, and there is a rising possibility of a pause in activity for a couple of quarters as these stocks are shed.

Second, there has been some evidence of improved underlying performance in the labour market. The Goldman Sachs wage equation suggests average earnings should by now be increasing at an annual rate of about 5 per cent, given the decline in unemployment. In fact, earnings have risen only 3.5 per cent, a difference which might indicate a structural break for the better.

Third, several lead indicators for price inflation have started to improve sharply, even though the recorded inflation rate continues to rise. The graphs show the relationship between producer prices and the purchasing manager's index (PMI), a monthly business survey. The prices component of the PMI dropped from 57.5 in September to 52.5 in October, the lowest reading since November 1993, which would be consistent with an easing in producer input price inflation towards zero in coming months. More importantly, the PMI figures on delivery times suggest producer output price inflation will drop sharply in the early part of next year. This increases the likelihood that retail price inflation will peak by the middle of 1996.

Fourth, the Cabinet seems to have reached agreement last week on public spending plans for 1996/97, which will roughly freeze the real total of spending for another year. Though these plans will be hard to hit in a pre-election period (much harder than the Tory Party seems to imagine), they should ensure that the fiscal stance will tighten next year, even after £3bn of tax cuts. All this makes a small base rate cut much less risky than it seemed a few months ago.



Axminster, enthusiasm and the Conservative Party are at the heart of things for the dyslexic who once wanted to be a barrister

Carpet king continues a long roll



Man of many roles: Sir Philip Harris, innovator, ideas man and skilled persuader, at one of his many retail outlets

Sir Philip Harris is sitting in the boardroom of his company's head office in Rainham, Essex, but finding it difficult to stay still. One minute he is bouncing up to show off a new shop design, the next he is dashing out to ask his secretary for photographs.

"What do you think of this design then? See what we've done with these signs. We've really perked them up with a bit of yellow ... mmm," he adds, agreeing with himself.

He talks quickly with the enthusiasm of the born salesman and is in bouncy form. His carpet business is on a roll and so too, he believes, is his other great love – the Conservative Party, for which he is a key fundraiser.

Carpet first. As the Axminster king of Britain, Sir Philip had already made one carpeting fortune when he secured £70m from the sale of Harris Queensway in 1988. Now 53, he is doing it all again with Carpetright, a rapidly expanding carpet group whose low prices and high volumes have helped it snatch a 14 per cent share of the UK carpet market.

He is now rolling out a new larger format Carpet Depot with which he hopes to build the group's share to 20 per cent.

As for the Conservatives, Sir Philip has been enthused by the Tory Party conference and the recent dinner at Claridges to celebrate the 70th birthday of Baroness Thatcher, who awarded him his knighthood in 1985. He has continued his top-level connections. John Major and his wife, Norma, were guests at his villa in the south of France over the summer.

He says: "The economy is improving all the time. Unemployment is coming down and we have a government that is listening. I think the 5,000 more

policemen on the beat is very exciting."

Earlier this year he was taking £5 bets that the Tories would win the next election. "I'd double that now," he says. As deputy chairman of the party's treasury committee he is helping to build a £22m fighting fund at Central Office for the next election. The party's troublesome overdraft is down to less than £10m, he says.

A skilled persuader, Sir Philip was thought to have been instrumental in securing a £4m interest-free loan from Graham Kirkham, the wealthy head of DFS furniture, last year. Mr Kirkham last month raised

£74m from the sale of shares in the company. He can expect another call from Sir Philip soon.

If he finds the time, that is. Sir Philip and his tight-knit management team have spent the past few months working on the Carpet Depot format which will be expanded aggressively.

Carpet Depot is a huge, warehouse-style store that stocks carpets starting at prices as low as £1.19 a square yard and up to around £50. This is upmarket territory not yet explored by Carpetright.

"What do you think?" he inquires, holding up an artist's impression of the new design, complete with dayglo orange shop front. "Good, isn't it? I think it's one of the best ideas I've had."

The first outlet opened in the Thurrock retail park in Essex in September and a further two have already been added. There will be eight by next year and 70 within four years. "It's going to take the department stores like John Lewis head on."

Formed in 1988 and floated

on the stock market two years ago, Carpetright has already established a chain of more than 200 outlets and consistently bucked the sluggish retail trend with spectacular profits growth and a £20m cash pile.

"I spent six months looking at Europe but decided against it. France looked too tough and Germany was difficult to get into. So I've decided to concentrate on Britain."

"Everyone said Carpetright would run out of steam two years after we floated, but I think we're just about to gather

steam." Initially, the plan was to build a chain of 200 stores. After new research he plans a chain of 250 outlets in Britain plus a further 10 in Northern Ireland.

Carpetright has been opening a new outlet every 12 days and the introduction of Carpet Depot will be its third format. There will be no more, Sir Philip assures.

The original Carpetright stores remain the core, with 190 outlets and growing. Earlier this year the group started opening Premier Carpets concessions in branches of MFI and Sainsbury's Homebase. So far there are 10 outlets, but this will grow to 120 within four years.

Carpet Depot is also going to get the rapid roll-out treatment. A chain of 70 is planned over the next four years.

However there are concerns in the City that the new format will cannibalise the core Carpetright chain. Sir Philip dismisses these worries: "Carpetright is still the big earner. We won't neglect that."

But the Depot format is different and if we didn't do it someone else would."

He has a reputation as a tough employer. Under-performers are weeded out quickly. Loyal henchmen stay for years. John Kitching, Carpetright's sales director, joined Sir Philip for a summer more than 20 years ago and has stayed.

He says: "His enthusiasm is infectious. That's what motivates people. If things go wrong he can be ruthless, but he's not one of those people who throw their weight about for the sake of it."

Aside from carpets and Conservatives, Sir Philip's main hobby is show-jumping. He owns four top horses trained by David Broome and ridden by Michael Whitaker. Though privately owned rather than corporately sponsored, most have carpeting overtones such as Midnight Madness, the name of the Carpetright sale.

"I do a bit of riding but I haven't done any this year be-

cause I've been so busy. My real aim is for one of the horses to win an Olympic gold medal."

Few would deny him such expensive hobbies. Born in Streatham, south London, he left school at 15 to take over the family's three carpet shops after his father died. "I wanted to be a barrister, but I'm dyslexic so that wasn't possible. But I have no regrets."

He gradually expanded the chain through the 1960s and 1970s aided by the rise in home ownership and rising living standards. In 1977 he took over the Queensway furniture chain and in 1983 was named Hamro Businessman of the Year.

By 1988 when the business had expanded to include the Hamleys toy shops it was acquired by the doomed Lowndes Queensway buy-in.

Sir Philip denies that he is motivated by an ambition to make Carpetright bigger than Harris Queensway and prove wrong those in the City who question his record. But those close to him say he has a desire to prove he can do it all again.

Nigel Cope

As the Italian scandal season gets into its stride, a spiralling budget deficit is forcing a sharp change in what is acceptable

A sick economy shakes out the fake invalids

It is scandal season in Italy again. In the past month, a Rome investigating magistrate has discovered that as many as 50,000 "fake invalids" are collecting disability benefits through cushy jobs in the public sector, particularly in the post office. And several thousand officers in the armed forces have confessed they have been systematically inflating their expense claims and accepting bribes to exempt the children of officers from national service.

The university system, too, is under investigation as evidence emerges of competitive exams for tenured professorships being rigged, and state money being wasted on faculties that are providing plentiful jobs but are of negligible educational value.

At first sight, such reports seem no more than chaotic chaos of competitive exams, rigged professorships, and state money being wasted on faculties that are providing plentiful jobs but are of negligible educational value. But the fact that they are coming to light now is more than mere coincidence. These scandals bear witness to a tough corruption in a luxury life: that endemic corruption is a luxury life that no country can longer afford. Everyone knows Italy's public finances are hopelessly in-

debted. The state has been running a budget deficit for so long that overall public debt represents more than 120 per cent of GDP. Worse still, investor confidence in Italy is so shaky that the Treasury is forced to service nearly two-thirds of this debt through short-term bonds. It is a perilous exercise, since the government is having to repay investors faster than it can afford to and has no alternative but to issue yet more short-term bonds to cover its shortfall.

The bribes companies were expected to pay were too expensive

This is clearly an untenable situation, which explains the single-mindedness of the Prime Minister, Lamberto Dini, in bringing the deficit rapidly under control. In April he made an initial £20,000bn (£809m) worth of cuts through tax increases and reductions in public spending. Two months later he finalised a reform of the bloated pensions system, which had been eating up a staggering 20 per cent of GDP. His pre-

occupation now is to get parliament to approve the 1996 budget with its £32,500bn in further savings before his tenure before his non-political administration falls victim to inter-party squabbling.

But the budget is not the only issue. Italy is being forced to confront every area of public life and re-examine the extravagant habits of the past. The process started three years ago, when the "clean hands" team of magistrates in Milan brought down an entire generation of politicians with their anti-corruption investigations.

Sweeping away the old order was not prompted by any great rethinking of ethical standards in public life: the bribes large companies were expected to pay politicians and their parties had become too expensive. With Italy hitting a recession along with the rest of Europe, it was no longer reasonable to pay as much as 60 per cent of a contract's value in kick-backs. The only recourse was to denounce the politicians.

Three years on, the revolution in Italian public life has shifted focus. Before, the target was lar-

geon on a grand scale – politicians who stashed gold ingots under their mattresses and siphoned off chunks of the country's GDP into anonymous bank accounts in the Far East.

Now, after a period of high instability, it is institutions beyond the strict sphere of politics that are under attack. The investigation into the fake invalids at the post office, for example, was partly motivated by the urgent need to modernise a notoriously wasteful and inefficient public service. Political sources suggest that the magistrates may have been tipped off by post office managers looking for a way to by-pass the powerful trade unions and cut as much as a quarter of the 200,000-strong workforce.

The need to eradicate waste and privilege is causing consternation in many areas of Italian life. Workers at La Scala opera house in Milan, for example, are threatening to call off the opening night of the new season because they see the management's attempts to cut costs as an attack not just on their lifestyles, but on the very

culture of arts administration in Italy. So cushioned have they been for so long, they do not understand why the state is no longer prepared to plunge billions of lire into opera each year and get back less than a tenth of its investment.

The changing mentality is beginning to have an effect on the economic big league. Two months ago Gianni Agnelli, chairman of Fiat, and the head of the Milanese merchant bank Mediobanca, Enrico Cuccia,

announced a plan to create the country's second-biggest industrial conglomerate by merging two loss-making groups under their control, Montedison-Ferruzzi and Gemina.

The deal had all the hallmarks of traditional Italian business practice, a piece of economic engineering worked out between old friends behind closed doors. The political establishment was not consulted; neither were minority share-

holders. A decade ago, they would have got away with it because they were powerful enough to block all opposition. But times have changed.

Within a few weeks, magistrates and tax inspectors were crawling all over Gemina after discovering an £800bn hole in the books of the company's publishing subsidiary, Rizzoli, and the merger deal was called off. This week Mediobanca received another slap in the face after it bought more than 10 per cent of the shares in Montedison-Ferruzzi's holding company on the sly. The Milan bourse regulator took everyone by surprise by forcing Mediobanca to make a formal takeover offer and buy 10.8 per cent more of its shares on the open market.

Italy's revolution is far from complete. It still has no stable political structure, and its economy is crying out for proper regulation. But these recent episodes suggest a start is being made. Penury may not be the noblest reason for cleaning up public life, but as long as the drive to improve public finances persists, it seems there is a real chance of bringing about lasting change.

Andrew Gumble



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INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS

RUGBY UNION: Referee criticised as free-flowing Harlequins are frustrated at The Stoop where Tigers sacrifice style for practicality

Leicester opt for the functional

A kindly description of Leicester's rugby is functional and, as they showed last season, functionalism can even win titles. But when it comes to rugby's occasional capacity for uplifting the heart and soul — and no, there has not been too much of it in the Courage Championship this season — they don't.

Which is to say they do not do so often enough. The fantastic try with which they had completed the previous defeat of Bristol might just as well have been a mirage for all the relevance it had to their 29-25 win over Harlequins at The Stoop. Churlish as it may seem to complain when a job has been done, this is nothing like what Leicester's coaches consistently lead us to believe is their design.

The exchanges did not lack stimulation, partly because the score was so close and partly because of the amount of free running Harlequins did, not least Will Carling until he cracked his neck near the end. (Neil Back was not so fortunate: he cracked a rib.)

On the other hand, this was another example of the low skills inherent even at this exalted level of club rugby, as well as the inability of English referees to take the broad view of a match instead of dutifully concentrating on specifics.

One or two Quins were inflamed afterwards at the way Jerry Wallis persistently penalised them in the tackle. More to the point, I should have thought, was the peremptory whistling which so badly stifled advantage. Three line-out penalties to the side who had just secured the ball were both symptomatic and enough to make you scream.

Some did. Keith Richardson, Quins' coach, may have contented himself with a few diplomatic remarks about not getting the better of the referee's decisions but, in private, at least one very senior Harlequin with a direct line over the road to Twickenham was spluttering with fury.

In practical terms, Harlequins destroyed themselves by

STEVE BALE
COMMENTARY

missing their chances and being so persistently penalised. It handed the game to John Liley, who is in such sweet kicking form that he landed all five of his penalties, as well as converting both of Leicester's tries.

I suppose it could be argued that, when you have such a prolific provider, the imperative for tries simply does not exist. How else to square the consistently expressed aspiration of Leicester coaches with their team's drab product. The Tigers are changing from lettering to numbering in a fortnight, but will they change their stripes?

Perhaps the players do not perceive the dichotomy, because afterwards the self-criticism of the acting captain, Rory Underwood, was aimed at Leicester's defence and not their attack. Rory was the lucky one; Harlequins created the conditions not only for their tries by Chris Sheasby, Peter Mensah and Daren O'Leary, but did the same for Underwood when Rob Kitchen's pass intended for Carling was intercepted by the England wing.

Otherwise, it was familiar stuff. A calf injury meant the discarded England No 8, Dean Richards, was absent, but with or without him Leicester should not be expected to do other than show their way over at a short-range scrum — except that Mick Watson dived in to concede a penalty try before Richards' deputy, Chris Turbutt, could touch down.

It was not an auspicious day for the abrasive Watson, who received a yellow card for stamping on Aadel Kardooni's leg in the first half and had to do emergency second-row duty for all of the second after Peter Thresher's departure. But prone as he is to various forms of ill-discipline, he is also a dynamic forward and his buccaneering mobility epitomised how Quins, pack as well as backs, set out to attack.

The contrast was more or less complete. "You come away thinking 'Is this what the game is about?' And it is. To get two league points against us, it is," Richardson lamented. "I don't think Harlequins, even if we gave

them £1m a match, could ever play like that. It is alien to the club and alien to their nature." To see what he means, we have to go back to a period of Harlequins ascendancy during the second half when they moved the ball to left and right, won a ruck or three and were poised for tries when a Tiger, on the logical premise that three points conceded are better than seven, would illicitly launch himself over the ball. Richardson, a partial witness, suggested a penalty try or, failing that, a yellow card.

On the first occasion, the ball was back in Kitchen's hands and ready for further recycling when Wallis intervened, a frustration doubled when Paul Challenor blazed a long way wide from in front of the posts. The second time he did not repeat the blunder, although his body language, as he reluctantly stepped up to place the ball, betokened a considerable crisis of confidence.

It was a perverse performance by Challenor who, although the England A outside-half only last year, was



Catch a Tiger by his tail: Harlequins try in vain to stop a Leicester advance on Saturday

Photograph: Peter Jay

discarded by Quins as soon as David Pears was restored to well-being. In Pears' renewed absence, Challenor alternated between unfamiliar bravura and abject misery. So, in his way, he epitomised Harlequins.

They remain third, and Leicester's prosaic practicality maintains them two points behind Bath and now four ahead of Quins. Perhaps they are showing a Bath-style capacity for winning when in difficulty, and perhaps people should therefore be less censorious. Or

perhaps not. "I thought I guarded my words pretty well," Richardson added, before uttering a derogatory expletive as soon as the tape-recorders had been switched off.

Harlequins: Tries: Sheasby, Mensah, O'Leary. Conversions: Challenor 2. Penalties: Challenor 2. Leicester: Try: Underwood. Penalty try: Underwood. Conversions: Challenor 2. Penalties: Challenor 2.

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Clubs fear spread of 'double standards'

BILL LEITH

Boroughmuir

Hawick

18

19

Peter Wright, the Boroughmuir captain, will learn tomorrow whether, when he opened his mouth to lambast the referee Ken McCartney and get sent off, he also blew a £2,000 international match fee, which is still to be formally announced.

A vacancy has been left in the Scotland team to face Western Samoa pending a hearing which is attracting the attention of junior clubs aggrieved at what they claim are double standards on the part of Scottish Rugby Union disciplinary panels.

Penicill have written to the SRU questioning why one of their colts was banned for nearly a year when a First Division player received six weeks for what seemed a similar head hitting offence. St Boswell's, who had a player sent off for dissent on the same day as Wright, are watching closely, and Earston have complained to the National League Association that one of their players had to wait six weeks for his case to be heard and was suspended for a month.

Some Boroughmuir supporters believe justice has been served and the club has paid the price for their captain's misbehaviour with a surprisingly flat display against Hawick, who have won five of their last six games. Instead of going into their last three league games three points clear, Boroughmuir are a point ahead of Melrose and Stirling County.

If Wright had been leading the side, there might have been less inclination to entrust possession to a back division lacking penetration in the face of inspirational tackling.

His team-mate Sean Lineen acknowledged: "Ironically, Peter was missed mainly because of his voice. He keeps us on our toes."

Boroughmuir: Tries: Wright, Wallace. Conversions: McCartney 2. Penalties: McCartney 2. Hawick: Tries: Wright, Wallace. Conversions: McCartney 2. Penalties: McCartney 2.

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How Cobblers fell on their feet

A lot of old cobblers has been spouted this season about playing an open expansive game. At Northampton they don't waste time shooting the breeze, they go out and blast aside their Second Division rivals with the brand of running rugby that so many aspire to but so few manage.

They have come a long way since the fall from the First Division last season.

Firstly, all the key players decided to stick with the club and help them bounce straight back. Secondly, the squad returned for pre-season training a month earlier than usual and got themselves fit. Thirdly, masterminded by Ian McGeechan, they worked out how they wanted to play the game.

The result is an awesome record, a stunning and entertaining style of play, leadership of the Second Division and massive support.

Generally crowds are around 5,000 — there were 7,500 for the visit of second-placed London Scottish — to watch the Saints march all over their opponents to the tune of eight tries and an

average of 52 points per game, while conceding a steady 11. But this is a far from average club. There are plenty in the First Division who would not withstand their dynamism.

They are not where they are simply by being big fish in a little pond. Today's Pilkington Cup fourth-round draw will have top sides keeping their fingers crossed that they avoid being pitched against Northampton, home of away.

It is a very different side from that which was relegated. There has been an injection of verve in the backs — Scots Greig tried to keep up but eventually they cracked. Grant Seely and Harvey Thorncroft had already run in first-half tries, but scrum-half Matt Dawson burst through from a 50th-minute tap penalty to himself. The dam burst right about then.

Wave after wave of attacks

brought a flood of points. Scottish had no answer to the rapid rucking and high-class handling of the 15 Saints. Five more tries followed, including a hat-trick for Scotland centre Townsend. All but one of the tries were converted by fly-half Paul Grayson.

Saints' policy of running every kickable penalty — "I'm quite happy to forgo three points, if it gives the players confidence to attack with the ball in hand," McGeechan said — apart from exhausting the opposition, gives Grayson little opportunity of scoring with the boot, so it is in his interests to get his backs going, then he can add the conversion to the resultant tries. It works.

Northampton: Tries: Seely, Thorncroft 2. Dawson 1. Townsend 3. Penalties: Grayson 2. Conversions: Grayson 2. London Scottish: Try: Seely. Penalties: Russell 2.

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British Lions player and coach underlined the major changes that have taken place. "We are far more dynamic," McGeechan explained. "We work harder, we are much fitter and the players are thinking on the right lines. I changed tactically what I wanted us to do and I think everyone is more comfortable with it."

Everyone except their opponents. Throughout a match that could have been a Scotland trial, there were so many of them involved — even one of the touch judges had the surname Airdrie — the Saints tried to keep up but eventually they cracked. Grant Seely and Harvey Thorncroft had already run in first-half tries, but scrum-half Matt Dawson burst through from a 50th-minute tap penalty to himself. The dam burst right about then.

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